

IN THESE TIMES

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May 30-June 5, 1979

70 Cents

Barry Commoner
tells ITT what the
crisis means, and
what can be done.

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*Will there be gas
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THE INSIDE STORY



Linda Brown in the yard of the all-black Munroe School that she attended in 1951 when the momentous lawsuit was filed in her name.

25th anniversary of Brown is a time for celebration

By Florence Hamlish Levinsohn

There is reason to celebrate the Brown decision, despite the nay-sayers among us. Let's look at those nay-sayers. They are mostly young—too young to remember what the years before 1954 were like in this country for blacks. They are too young to have known college-educated blacks who worked in the post office and on the railroads because they were the best jobs open to them. They are too young to have travelled for miles in the South before they could find a restaurant that would serve them or a hotel to rest in. They are too young to remember how many Southern blacks died because all-white hospitals refused to treat them. They are too young to have walked into a restaurant in any Northern city only to be told that they could not be served there.

They are too young to remember when the only job a black woman could get was as a domestic. They are too young to have stood in the railroad stations of the major Northern cities watching blacks arrive by the carloads seeking relief from Southern oppression. They are too young to have seen the shacks to which black children walked miles to go to school in the South, where there was no heat, no running water, no textbooks, teachers earning \$50 a month who hadn't graduated from high school, let alone college.

They are too young to have the smell of lynching in their nostrils or the knowledge that blacks were hemmed in from every direction, north as well as south, that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was fighting, not for affirmative action, not for opening up the craft unions to blacks, not for equal access, but only for what Richard Kluger called simple justice, the right to go to the schools that provided a decent education.

Many are too young to have known. Many others have chosen to forget. The memories are too painful. And the U.S., a nation with a short memory, always

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looking forward and leaving the past to rot, has not lingered over the documents of that history.

Of course, the nay-sayers are right when they protest that the gap between white workers and black workers has increased, that the gap is larger than it was ten years ago, that unemployment rates for blacks continue to increase. Of course they are right when they point to the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in the South. And they are right that while desegregation has occurred within the walls of many, many schools, there is still segregation within classrooms and in the corridors and the lunchrooms of many of those schools.

They are right to continue to press for affirmative action on the job scene and on the college entrance scene. The students at Harvard are right to protest the phasing out of the black studies program. The United League in Tupelo is right to press for integration of the police force and the business sector of that town and other nearby towns. The Urban League is right in publicizing the dismal state of blacks in 1979 and in working to change that condition.

To celebrate the Brown decision is not necessarily to overlook the problems that blacks still face in a basically racist society. But not to celebrate that momentous event is to overlook the tremendous gains made by blacks in this society. It is to slight the back-breaking work done by the civil rights movement, the deaths of those who gave their lives to that movement and the good will of so many Americans who came to understand the agony of blacks.

Not to celebrate the Brown decision is to deny the enormous advances made despite the reluctance of so many. It is to deny Thurgood Marshall and his steadfast team of NAACP lawyers their victory in the Supreme Court that extraordinary May 17 in 1954. It is to forget the many years of work that team put in, fighting case after case seeking school integration. Brown vs. Board of Education was simply the culmination of a long series of court fights.

The NAACP had decided that this was the road they would travel to win the first breakthrough in the Jim Crow pattern that prevailed in the nation. If they could get school segregation outlawed, other forms of segregation would fall. And, of course, they were right. The Brown decision inspired a whole generation of blacks and whites, young and old, to fight those patterns of segregation instituted after the Reconstruction years.

But school desegregation didn't start in the South; it started in Boston. In 1849, five-year-old Sarah Roberts walked past five elementary schools for white children on her way to Smith Grammar School, which the city of Boston had maintained as a public school for blacks since 1820. When her father became upset because the school Sara attended was badly run down, "the school rooms are too small, the paint is much defaced," and the equipment "so shattered and neglected that it cannot be used until it has been thoroughly repaired," he tried to place her in one of the white schools.

Failing, he turned to the courts and Charles Sumner, who later became such an eloquent enemy of slavery, told the court that, as Richard Kluger describes in *Simple Justice*, "to segregate Negro children was to 'brand a whole race with the stigma of inferiority and degradation,' and for the school committee to do that would be to place itself above the state constitution." But Sumner lost his case and the Roberts case became the basis for the later Plessy vs. Ferguson that stated that separate but equal was lawful, even when schools were separate but never equal. Plessy vs. Ferguson was the law of the land until 1954.

What is known today about school desegregation is the violence that has attended the breaking down of the barriers. Boston, Pontiac, Mich., Little Rock, Ark., and the other cities where whites have burned buses, thrown rocks and epithets, and tried to prevent the

peaceful movement of children into integrated schools. What is known is the widely publicized spurious findings of James Coleman that school desegregation results in white flight to the suburbs.

What is not known are some of the hard facts. In Chicago, where desegregation has never been tried, the schools are more than 75 percent non-white, of which a large percentage is black. But the white flight that has occurred there has nothing to do with school desegregation because there has never been any. In Detroit, with a more than 75 percent non-white school population, a school desegregation order did not come down until 1976, by which time the schools were already largely non-white.

What is not known is that most schools in the South, after the federal government threatened to withhold funds, are largely desegregated. The process was not swift but it was orderly, hardly interesting to the mass media that dashes to the scene of racial violence but ignores the peaceful transition to integration.

And what is not known, as Willis Hawley points out elsewhere in this issue, is that desegregation does work. There has been much said about low test scores and the failures of black kids to improve their academic abilities in integrated schools. But the research that these supposed failures emerge from is faulty—hastily done, often with inadequate instruments, often by people who didn't know what to look for.

But the argument against desegregation that is based on low test scores is in itself a spurious one. The issue is not whether minorities prosper in integrated schools but whether they have the right to equal educational opportunities. In this basically racist society, it is unfailing that all-black or all-Hispanic schools are neglected schools. Only where there are whites present are the schools cared for properly, supplied adequately and taught with concern.

What the nay-sayers overlook when they say "so what" to the Brown decision is that enormous gains have been made, not only by the famous blacks but by many ordinary blacks who 25 years ago could look forward to an ignominious reward for their labor. Over a million blacks are in some kind of college setting today. College graduates are no longer working in the post office. Thurgood Marshall, who fought school desegregation cases for 25 years before he won the Brown decision, now sits on the Supreme Court. Small towns across the South are governed by blacks. While the number of black elected officials is still only slightly over 1 percent, the number is extraordinary when we remember that only 25 years ago there were only a handful throughout the country.

In the great rush of events most Americans have failed to realize that the Brown decision opened the door to equal opportunity. It laid the pathway to affirmative action. It inspired thousands to demand their rights and to get them. They brought down the white-only signs in the South and battled the more subtle but no less pervasive Jim Crow in the North. It opened the way to the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act and the continuous growth of struggles for equality of opportunity for blacks and other minorities.

The struggles for racial equality since 1954, however, have also revealed the structural barriers inherent in the capitalist system to the achievement of social equality for blacks as well as whites. It has become clearer that the inequalities of class are integral to inequalities of race. The poor, uneducated, unskilled cannot be put to work in a society that can only thrive when it has a high unemployment rate, when it takes for granted, indeed requires, a large "underclass" of the unfit. Competition for scarce jobs, housing, education sets whites against blacks. Until basic changes are made in the class structure and economic system, racial inequality and

Continued on page 8.

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EDITORIAL

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BUREAUS

SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308, (404)881-1689. NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212)865-7638. BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 8 Thayer Place, Brookline, MA 02146, (617)738-9707. CALIFORNIA: Larry Remer, 3609 4th St., San Diego, CA 92103, (714)225-1128. DENVER: Timothy Lange, P.O. Box 6159, Denver, CO 80206, (303)333-9554.

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Oil companies fueled the gas shortage

By David Moberg

JUST OVER THREE-FOURTHS OF Americans polled by the Gallup survey think the recent and continuing gasoline shortage has been deliberately created by the oil companies. Their President, meanwhile, chides them for seeking scapegoats in believing that his administration and the oil companies are in collusion to create the shortages. "That is obviously a false analysis or premise," he told a group of business executives visiting the White House.

It is not so obviously false. Despite the lack of adequate information—since the oil companies are ultimately the source of most data on the industry, the popular prejudice seems better supported by available figures and past experience than does the President's pronouncement.

Distrust of the oil companies and their apparent allies in the Department of Energy has grown markedly, not only among the public, but also among members of Congress—even with right-wingers like Sen. Paul Laxalt (R-NV). As a result the oil companies and the Schlesinger/Carter energy policy have suffered recent symbolic and real defeats in a number of votes—such as the Carter rationing proposal and the Alaska wilderness preservation bill (taken by many as a slap at the oil companies). The most important rebuff was the nearly two-to-one rejection by the Democratic caucus in Congress last week of Carter's decontrol plan.

No satisfactory explanation has been given for why gasoline supplies have been short at the corner station, with deliveries running on the average of 92 percent of a year earlier. Several specific factors have contributed, although some stressed by the administration and the companies—such as the Iranian cutback in oil or increased consumer demand—are unimportant.

Planning high prices.

As John Blair argued forcefully in *The Control of Oil*, oil companies for several decades have worked to maintain inflated price levels through "planned and systematic restriction of output at home and abroad." During the 1973-74 OPEC price jumps the primary concern of the major corporations, Blair said, was to retain control among themselves of the dominant sources of crude for refining and distribution. (They, of course, profited handsomely then, continue to profit now and will profit even more if controls are lifted whenever OPEC prices rise.)

Recently, in response to a World Bank plan to help the economically dependent nations develop their oil and gas supplies, the chairman of Exxon wrote to Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal asking him to stop the bank from interfering in the majors' control of the world oil business, James Plug, director of Energy Action recently charged. That letter, of course, was sent at a time when the world is supposedly desperate to find new sources of oil.

To understand the present shortage, it is necessary to go back a little over a year ago when the problem—from OPEC's and the oil multinationals' point of view—was not shortage but an oil glut.

"During the first three quarters of 1978 the world oil prices were weak," Joseph Lerner, an independent economist with Energy Economics Associates, said. "Foreign crude was being discounted instead of getting premiums. Some prices of gasoline and distillate (fuel oil and diesel fuel) were weak. That was offered as a reason for dropping controls on distillate."

"The industry—in order to 'correct this situation' from their standpoint—reduced refinery runs and produced short inventories. I don't think they intended to produce the shortages we got, but they are advantageous for them. Production would come out of refineries rather than out of inventory and in that situation they see it as easier to get the price they want."

Last summer, an oil glut threatened to lower gas prices. Oil companies then cut back on their production. U.S. consumers are now paying the price for that cutback.

"It is clear from the numbers that the hardships the public suffers now and will suffer with heating oil next winter was all put in place by Oct. 1 of last year. If we hadn't had the September draw-down (of gasoline and distillate stocks), if the inventory in October 1978 had been the same as at the beginning of October 1977, then we would not be behind in gasoline supplies by 22 million barrels, but rather inventories would be higher than current consumption by five million barrels."

The same situation holds with distillate, Lerner argues. If inventories hadn't been drawn down late last summer in response to the weakened prices, there would be 11 million more barrels of fuel oil and diesel fuel in reserves than a year ago.

But even oil industry figures say there is no shortage of crude oil, despite those inscrutable Iranian ayatollahs. Total world oil production in the first two months of this year was up by 4.7 percent over last year, despite a 90 percent reduction in Iranian oil. Furthermore, total domestic production and imports in the U.S. grew by 6.4 percent in the first quarter of this year compared with a year earlier, according to the *Oil and Gas Journal*, and crude fed to refineries was up 4.4 percent over a year earlier.

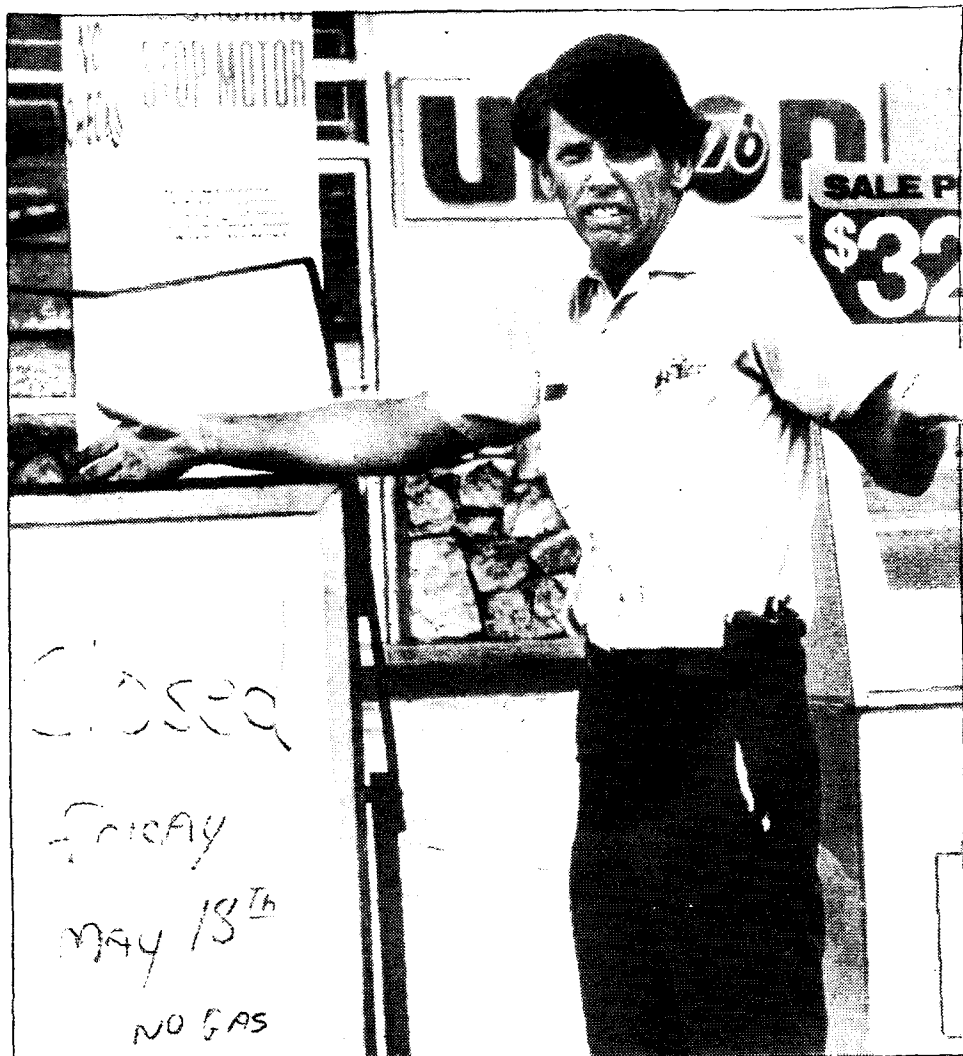
The discrepancy partly reflects the diversion of oil by the federal government into the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, underground storage cavities that unfortunately do not yet have any pumps to retrieve the oil cache. "If they would stop diverting the oil, they would have crude coming out of their ears," Frank Collins, consultant to the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, says.

Even with diversion there should be enough oil, since the total domestic product demand for the first quarter increased over a year before by 3 percent, according to the *Oil and Gas Journal*. According to Energy figures, however, demand in the first four months was down slightly compared to a year ago. And in early May demand dropped more sharply—by 2.9 percent for gasoline, for example. Meanwhile, total imports were up—reflecting a 10.8 percent rise over a year earlier in crude imports but a 6.8 percent drop in products as companies diverted their gasoline refined elsewhere from the U.S.

Energy Secretary James Schlesinger admitted to the *Washington Post* last week that products from Caribbean refineries owned by U.S. corporations that were normally shipped to the U.S. have been sold instead to the ultra-lucrative world spot market.

The problem isn't with supplies—including imports—or with increasing demand. If either were the problem, the oil companies certainly responded in a curious way. Starting last November there was a precipitous drop in oil drilling in the U.S. There was a 16 percent decline by March alone as oil companies waited for the June decontrol of oil.

What makes the current gasoline shortage even more suspicious is the low level of utilization of refinery capacity—85 percent in April, compared with 90 percent late last fall. The oil companies blame the Department of Energy for not letting them buy oil on the high-priced spot market (the very tiny portion of oil not



Fountain Valley, Cal., gas station owner Wes Sidebotham, with his gun tucked in his belt, gestures to a motorist to see his sign indicating that he is out of gas. He said the gun discourages unruliness.

sold on long-term contract) and for insisting on building up fuel oil stocks for next winter. Despite recent shifts of administration policy in favor of such purchases and of more gasoline production, those are inadequate explanations for the gasoline shortage.

More production than consumption.

Even in California and the rest of the West, production of gasoline was up more in the first four months of the year than consumption, according to a report by the staff of the House subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations. "The statistics show that the companies across the country were building crude oil stocks and holding gasoline" during February and March, a staff counsel said. "The question is: was that prudent or unwarranted?"

Deputy Energy Secretary John O'Leary admitted the fuel holdback last week in testimony before a Senate subcommittee but hastened to argue that such policies were "prudent management and in the public interest," even though he admitted that he did not have information to prove his assertion that the companies were not creating the shortage to get higher prices.

Such religious faith in the public stewardship of the oil companies is touching, but most Americans seem to be agnostic. Some of the evidence is purely anecdotal, even though the discrepancies in the statistics clearly suggest that the oil companies created the shortage as a consequence of their long-established policies of restricting oil production to sustain world prices. For example, a tanker recently travelling along the Gulf Coast was filled with highest, no-lead gasoline—the rarest of petrol treasures in recent weeks. It stopped at three ports but only discharged part of its cargo because all of the gasoline storage tanks were full. Nearby gas stations, however, had signs posted: "Closed—out of gas."

Whatever squeeze there was in the market has been exacerbated, obviously, by panic buying, although the panic mentality has largely been created by the oil companies and Energy Secretary James Schlesinger, with his dire and inaccurate pronouncements about the effects of the Iranian production cutback. Automobile drivers, for example, have been "topping off" their tanks in many parts of the

country. If 100 million vehicles carried around just five extra gallons, that could account for half of the present shortfall of gasoline.

Yet businesses had been tipped off earlier that oil and gas shortages might be occurring this spring. The Ohio Department of Energy advised 38 trade organizations representing business deeply dependent on oil to store up supplies, and the word undoubtedly spread nationwide, leading to corporate hoarding that may have helped to precipitate the panic. One sign of the stockpiling is the unusually long backlog in orders of storage tanks. Collins of OCAW suspects that jobbers and other middlemen may also be stocking up in order to get higher prices. The Investigations and Oversight staff is also convinced that "daisy chain" reselling of shiploads of crude or products from one closely connected firm to another in order to increase profits or provide tax-shelters for profits is "an area of real abuse."

This unnecessary and artificially manufactured "shortage" is providing a convenient means of "ratcheting up" the prices of oil and oil products to a new high level. Although the spot market covers less than 2 percent of total sales, the panic there—where sales double the OPEC base price have been registered recently—and the profiteering by the majors on oil after it leaves the OPEC nations will give further incentive to OPEC this summer to raise their prices even faster than planned. If the administration succeeds in dropping controls on oil and on retail sales of gasoline, the major oil companies will benefit even further. Prices will have been forced upwards permanently. The real pinch then will not be so much in gasoline station lines, which will probably diminish, but in paying the bills. Already fuel oil prices in some eastern markets have jumped 50 percent over last winter's level, generating an evil omen for poorer families in the Northeast and Midwest who are already paying one-third of their income for home energy needs.

Yes, there is an energy crisis, but it is not at the moment truly a crisis of supply but rather a crisis of rapidly rising prices. The immediate gasoline shortage is not only a result of oil company policies designed to sustain high prices, but also a means of extracting even higher prices. That is integral as well to the Schlesinger/Carter energy policy.

IN SHORT

NATION

Conyers withdraws support for Carter

NEW YORK—Representative John Conyers Jr. (D-MI), a founding member of the Black Congressional Caucus, says he will not support President Carter for the 1980 Democratic presidential nomination.

The eight-term black congressman said, "Carter is a president who is about to be disowned by his party."

He assailed the administration's energy policies and criticized Carter's policies on employment aid to cities and the criminal justice system in a speech delivered at the Conference of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, held at the Martin Luther King Labor Center in New York.

Conyers was not certain whom he will support for the Democratic presidential nomination. He said that the Black Congressional Caucus had "fixed views" on Carter but no formal decision had been reached about the 1980 race.

—Laura Cianci

\$6,700 is new poverty baseline

WASHINGTON—A new definition of poverty was announced by the federal government as a result of increases in consumer prices over the past year.

On recommendations from the Office of Management and Budget, the U.S. Department of Labor has raised its definition of the poverty level income of a nonfarm family of four to \$6,700, up \$500 from last year.

Simply, this means that a nonfarm family of four with an annual income under \$6,700 is now considered living in poverty.

Labor Department Employment Training Administration spokesman said that poverty income guidelines are usually raised each year to reflect rising living costs.

Poverty levels for Hawaii and Alaska are higher than for the contiguous 48 states.

In Hawaii, a nonfarm family of four earning \$7,710 is considered poor, and in Alaska nonfarm families earning under \$8,380 are considered living in poverty.

Another revised set of family income data, the Lower Living Standard Income Level (LLSIL) will be issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics later this month.

These guidelines are applied in programs under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA).

CETA sponsors have the option of using either of the measures to determine CETA eligibility.

—Laura Cianci

Are we already in a recession?

WASHINGTON—New factory orders for durable goods—those that last three years or more, such as transportation equipment and machinery—plunged 8.7 percent in April, the Commerce Department reported this week.

The drop, the biggest monthly decline in 11 years, caught economists by surprise. Michael K. Evans, of Evans Economics, Inc., said, "I'm in a state of shock. I guess the start of the recession is here."

Albert Sommers, chief economist at the Conference Board, was skeptical of the numbers. He said, "The impression given by the figures is that the general level of business activity fell sharply in April and I don't believe that."

Figures released by the Commerce Department show that durable goods orders fell to an adjusted \$77.03 billion in April after hitting \$84.34 billion in March and \$82.01 billion in February.

The April decline of 8.7 percent fol-



Police battle demonstrators on the steps of San Francisco's Civic Center in protest against the verdict handed down for the slayer of Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk.

San Francisco erupts after White verdict

SAN FRANCISCO—In an angry response to a lenient verdict of voluntary manslaughter against former San Francisco Supervisor Dan White, several thousand protesters rampaged through the city's Civic Center and neighboring areas Monday night, virtually turning the city into a smoky battlefield.

By the time the confrontation subsided, every window in front of the city hall had been smashed, over 30 vehicles, 12 of them police cars, had been entirely demolished by fire, and 37 police officers were hospitalized.

The riot began just hours after the ver-

dict against White was announced. White, a former police officer as well as city supervisor, had confessed to gunning down and killing San Francisco Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk, a political progressive who was the city's only gay elected official.

White's defense attorney, Douglas Schmidt, argued successfully that the ultra-conservative White was suffering from "diminished capacity" at the time of the killings, partially resulting from the defendant's "massive intake of junk food." The verdict carries with it a maximum of eight years in prison. White will

most likely be eligible for parole within five years.

The protesters, many of them gay, felt that the verdict had been too lenient. "If White had been a gay or a black he would have gone to the electric chair," said a gay spokeswoman.

Mayor Dianne Feinstein ordered a civil defense situation and by the following day hordes of police officers from throughout Northern California were patrolling the streets of San Francisco in anticipation of further outbreaks of violence.

—Marcelo Rodriguez

lows a 2.8 percent gain in March—revised from the preliminary 2.5 percent decline—and a 1.6 percent increase in February.

This is the steepest decline since the 8.9 percent drop in January 1968.

The government said the non-electrical machine industry, steel and other primary metals, fabricated metals and transportation equipment led the widespread decline in the economy.

Continental Bank economist Richard S. Peterson, said the new figures "add to the weakening trend we see in the economic data." He warned that there could be "some element of a statistical fluke" in the April figures.

Sommers said the overall economy still appears strong. The numbers all seem to be temporarily kooky." He expects the start of a recession later this year.

Business spending, a powerful stimulus to the economy, when curtailed, quickly translates into a decline in business activity.

—Laura Cianci

U.S. wages down to fifth place

CLEVELAND—Since 1972, wages of American workers have slid from first to fifth place, according to a report from a consulting firm in Cleveland.

\$6.70 an hour, compared to the U.S. average of \$5.63 per hour.

Towers, Perrin, Forster and Crosby Consultants to Management report that Sweden (\$6.13), Belgium (\$6.10) and West Germany (\$5.76), all topped the U.S. in hourly wages.

In world comparisons of base salaries, the study also shows that American executives are no longer the highest paid. For example, a top manager in West Germany also shows that American executives are no longer the highest paid. For example, a top manager in West Ger-

many may be paid up to 50 percent more than his U.S. counterpart. Fringe benefits and perks for top executives in the U.S., a practice fostered by U.S. tax laws, offset this disparity in wages.

—Laura Cianci

New York prisoners denied choice of lawyer

NEW YORK—The August 8th Brigade, a group of six prisoners at Eastern State New York Correctional Facility, accused of a variety of illegal acts in connection with an insurrection at the prison Aug. 8 1977, are on trial, despite the absence of a lawyer of their choice. Their attempt to get a delay while their attorney finished another case was denied. A group of lawyers who had been following the case took over to prevent the use of a court-appointed lawyer who admitted he had done nothing to prepare for the Brigade's defense.

The rebellion erupted after three years of writing suits and filing petitions against Ku Klux Klan (KKK) activity in the prison and KKK guard brutality without any action by the Department of Corrections to resolve the problems, according to Paul Aldridge, a spokesman for the Brigade.

"It appears that the KKK was involved in an organized effort to form a terror campaign aimed at black prisoners," Aldridge said.

Earl F. Shoonmaker, the Grand Dragon of the Independent Northern Clans, was a teacher of reading at the facility until he was fired because he was caught trying to recruit a white prisoner, Jimmy Conti, to distribute racist literature in the prison.

Aldridge said that he did not believe that Felix Castro, a Hispanic, the first of the defendants to be tried, was getting a

trial by his peers. "I think it is a railroad," said Aldridge, speaking of the jury selection. The jury is all white, their average age is 56."

The *Times Herald Record*, a local newspaper, reported that District Attorney Michael Kavanagh, when asked why he dismissed the only two minority persons among the prospective jurors, said, "I prefer no minority members on the jury."

—Laura Cianci

WORLD

China and USSR will talk again

PEKING—It was disclosed in the Chinese press that China and the Soviet Union have agreed to meet once again to talk about improving relations between the two nations. The talks would cover the long-standing border dispute, of course, but would also include a discussion of developing trade, scientific and technological exchanges.

Though the two nations have been meeting irregularly for years to settle the border dispute, each time coming away angrier than before, there is some speculation among China experts that these talks may be more productive. The timing of the talks may be connected to the U.S. position on Taiwan, which may have forced the Chinese to swing some of their energies toward rapprochement with the Soviet Union. This time around, some experts say, the Chinese may feel the pressure to make accommodations they have refused in the past, sensing the probability of an American-Chinese front against the Soviet Union as less likely than they had hoped for. —Florence H. Levinsohn

IN THE NATION

STUDENT MOVEMENT

McNamara sparks an '80s-style protest

By Laura Clanci

CHICAGO

MASS DEMONSTRATIONS last week in San Francisco (see page 4) and on the campus of the University of Chicago, following huge anti-ruke demonstrations around the country, may signal the start of a new era of political action.

Violence erupted on the Chicago campus on May 22 when a police deputy superintendent got a pie in the face after ordering 3,000 demonstrators to disperse or face arrest for "mob action." The crowd was protesting the University's presentation of the Albert J. Pick Jr. award for "outstanding contribution to international understanding" to former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, now head of the World Bank. The demonstration was the largest on the campus since 1968.

Nearly 3,000 people gathered outside Hutchinson Commons, the site of the award dinner. The demonstration, which began at noon with a rally and a series of teach-ins, erupted in near violence at 9 p.m.

After the pie was thrown in his face, the police deputy approached Ron Kovic, a paraplegic Vietnam war veteran, and told him he was under arrest. Kovic is in Chicago at the invitation of Mayor Jane Byrne as her guest of honor and as the keynote speaker at the Memorial Day observance to be held by the City of Chicago in Grant Park. It is to be a "welcome home to Vietnam war veterans."

When the police began to pick up Kovic's wheel chair to carry him to the police wagon, the crowd surged forward in protest. The police raised their clubs, ready to strike. Shouts of "Oh no, it's 1968 all over again," seemed to cause the police to lower their clubs to a horizontal position and use them instead to push and shove the crowd back.

Andrew Patner, an editor and reporter for the *Chicago Maroon*, the university student newspaper, was grabbed from behind when he protested the manner in which the police were grabbing Kovics' legs in an attempt to remove him from his wheel-chair. Patner was handcuffed and put into the police wagon with Kovic.

The police then began to carry the chanting demonstrators, who were sitting in the street, to the waiting wagons. Twenty-five persons were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct.

Earlier in the day, about 600 people attended a rally at the main quadrangle on the University campus. Thomas Walker, a member of the May 22 steering committee and a PhD candidate at the University, told *ITT*: "We are excited by the attendance." The teach-ins featured John Coatsworth, David Dellinger, Ron Kovic, Studs Terkel, Sidney Lens and Edward Sadlowski.

At 6 p.m. the demonstrators gathered on the lawn and sidewalks across from the building in which the award was to be presented to McNamara. More than 70 Chicago Police and University security guards surrounded the building and stood at outposts on top of the structure.

Studs Terkel told the demonstrators from atop a flatbed truck used as a speakers' platform, "I'm ashamed of what is happening across the street, but proud to be here with you."

Terkel told *ITT*: "This demonstration destroys the myth that students are apathetic. The University displayed arrogance and contempt toward students and alumni when they chose to give McNamara the award."

Guests went in the side door to avoid demonstrators who booed and chanted



A guest to the McNamara award dinner walks past the demonstrators.

"University of Chicago students say 'no award.'"

Kovic, in his address to the group, said, "This is the beginning of a new resistance. Berkeley '68 is happening here in 1979."

At 8 p.m. Kovics attempted to enter the Commons building and was stopped

by police and University security guards. Kovic requested a debate with McNamara when officials refused him admission.

After waiting more than half an hour, the demonstrators moved to the side entrance of the building where guests were sneaking out.

Paddy wagons began arriving. The students were incensed and began shouting, "Hell no, we won't go." To screams of "The whole world is watching," Kovic moved to the middle of the street and asked everyone to sit down. The sit-in had begun.

ANTI-NUKE MOVEMENT

Kerr-McGee loses Silkwood suit

By Howard Kohn

OKLAHOMA CITY

NEIGHBORS OF THE THREE Mile Island nuclear reactor could be the beneficiaries, along with Karen Silkwood's heirs, of the landmark lawsuit won here last week. The jury awarded \$10 million in punitive damages and \$500,000 in actual damages to the estate of Silkwood in a suit against Kerr-McGee Corporation of Oklahoma City that set out to prove that low levels of radiation previously thought safe actually are a long-term health hazard.

The judgment against Kerr-McGee may set a precedent that will enable Pennsylvanians contaminated by the Three Mile Island accident to take legal actions of their own. A chain reaction of such suits may end in costing the nuclear industry millions of dollars.

Kerr-McGee was accused of negligence in the plutonium contamination of Silkwood's apartment in early November 1974. An unknown culprit, it was discovered after her death, had taken a microscopic amount of radioactive materials from the company plant and apparently sprinkled it on a package of bologna and cheese in Silkwood's refrigerator.

Silkwood handled the package and ate a bologna-and-cheese sandwich before she discovered the poisoning. A week later, she died in a one-car crash (not caused by the contamination). An autopsy revealed small traces of plutonium in her lungs and liver.

Silkwood's death is part of a larger unresolved mystery. She was killed while on her way to give a *New York Times* reporter documentation of safety and quality control problems at the Kerr-McGee plant. The documents were never recovered, but private investigators later found evidence that another car had forced her off the road and that Kerr-McGee operatives had retrieved the documents from her wrecked car.

The primary issue in the lawsuit, however, was whether the plutonium in Silkwood's body was enough to cause future health problems had she lived. Kerr-McGee's position was that the 16 nano-curies found in her body were less than half the 40 nano-curies the Nuclear Regulatory Commission allows for nuclear workers, and therefore, it was not liable for damages.

The jury and judge, however, were apparently won over by the testimony of expert witnesses who said that the evidence from the past ten years shows that federal standards for plutonium are 480 times too lenient and that Silkwood was "married to lung cancer" as a result of the supposedly small amount she ingested.

In an unusual departure for such cases, Judge Frank G. Theis, in his instructions to the jury, applied the doctrine of strict liability, which means that even a neighbor who has received a dose of radioactivity can sue. He said that the Silkwood lawyers did not have to show that Kerr-McGee had deliberately contaminated the victim but simply that nuclear materials are so hazardous that the company was under special restraint to prevent the escape of the materials.

In comments in his chambers, Judge Theis said, "I don't think it is fair to say that nuclear power is on trial, but I think it's fair to ask the jury to send the nuclear industry a message."

The judgment will be seen as punishment for having operated the factory under unsafe conditions. The plant was closed down in 1975 after only six years of operation when Kerr-McGee refused to upgrade its safety conditions and when the government refused to work with the corporation on a cost-plus basis.

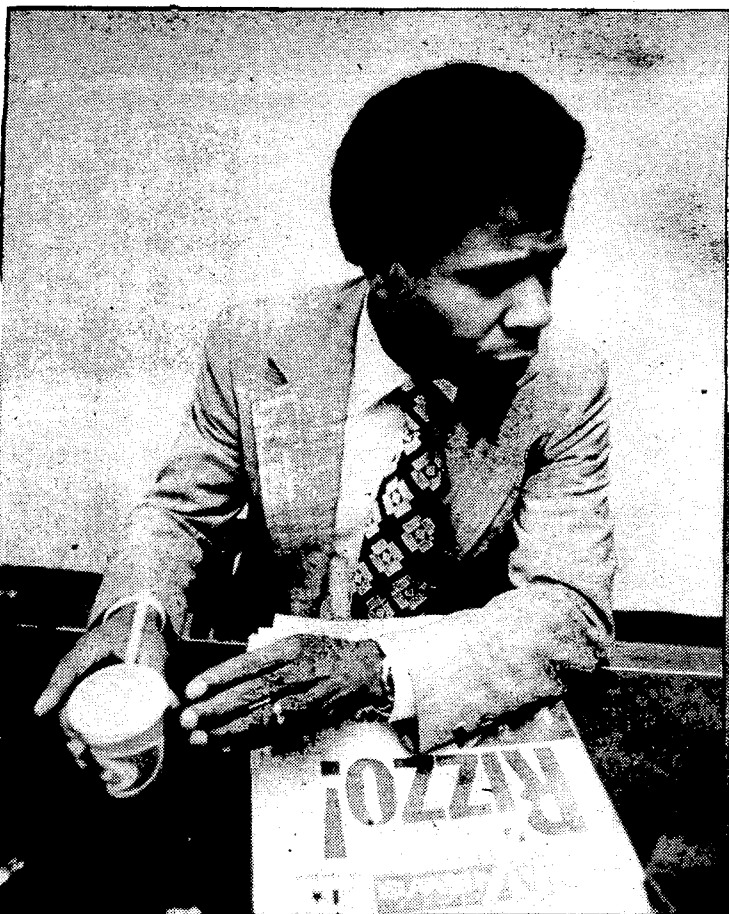
The Silkwood case is the first legal challenge to nuclear health standards. As a result, the Oklahoma City courtroom became the center of national attention. Reporters from New York, Washington and Los Angeles attended the trial, which started March 6, and some have begun calling it "the Scopes trial of the '70s."

John Scopes was a Tennessee school teacher and the focus of a 1925 legal tug-of-war between Darwinian scientists and Bible fundamentalists who wanted to teach evolution. As with Scopes, the ramifications of the Silkwood case may eventually overpower the details. Washington environmentalist Bob Alvarez was among the first to make the analogy.

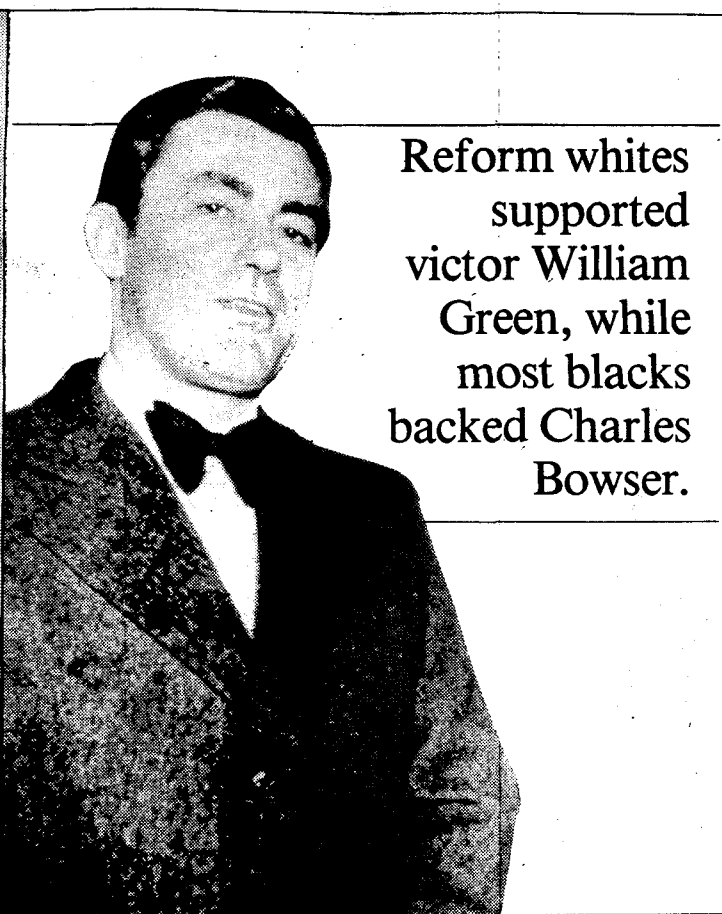
"The Scopes trial helped break through the lingering American prejudice against science and ushered in an era when government has come to rely heavily on scientists," Alvarez says. "The Silkwood case also involves a question of scientific suppression, but this time it's the government and the scientific establishment that's doing the suppressing."

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PHILADELPHIA PRIMARY



Losing black candidate Charles Bowser.



Victor William J. Green.

Reform whites
supported
victor William
Green, while
most blacks
backed Charles
Bowser.

tire polling place to favor Rizzo's charter change fight.

The two leading vote-getters in the council-at-large races were Al Pearlman, who calls Frank Rizzo "the greatest man I ever met," and Francis Rafferty, who claims to have modeled his whole public image on Rizzo. (Rafferty's greatest moments include punching a black city councilman in one of the council's many melees.)

How did all this happen?

The answer seems to be white racism.

From the beginning, Green was an ambiguous and vapid candidate for mayor. He took no part in the Rizzo recall campaign or the fight over the charter change. He is the son of an old-time Democratic ward leader who succeeded to his father's power and his father's friendships in the Democratic machine.

In the final weeks of the campaign, he supported the reform candidates for council-at-large seats—but did so in such an apolitical way that he managed to keep the support of all the Rizzoites, including Pearlman and Rafferty.

Bowser was active in all the anti-Rizzo struggles of the past year, a candidate with no ties to the machine, no chance of endorsement from Rizzoites—and, as it turns out, no chance of endorsement from white liberals, either.

To most black voters, it seemed that the single argument against Bowser was the color of his skin—and blacks voted to show their displeasure.

Three anti-Rizzo candidates for council-at-large seats seem to have won—two of them are black, and the third is the white leader of an integrated ward who had wide black support.

A black pro-Rizzo councilman lost heavily. A black councilman who was the single black leader of any reputation to back Green appears to have won re-election by less than 500 votes and may have ended his political career. Black voters demonstrated once again, as they did in the charter change election, that they are becoming increasingly sophisticated about ticket-splitting and increasingly independent of the city Democratic machine.

Frank Rizzo's open racism and white liberal arrogance (to give it no stronger name) seem to have combined to produce what is almost a black political party in Philadelphia. The reform wing of the Democratic Party is still strongly supporting Green (the head of the local ADA recently decried "ugly racial rhetoric" of Bowser's complaints about election fraud).

But the reform wing is now little more than a white caucus without a constituency—blacks see them as racist and whites who vote their color prefer the more open rhetoric of the Rizzoites. Green has made no move to dissociate himself from the Rizzo winners in the primary, and will not; the liberals have made no move to criticize Green, who now has the support of nearly every white politician in the city.

There are exceptions. Frank Rizzo, who came out of hiding long enough to crow over the election results, threatened idly to support an independent candidate for mayor. Some Bowser backers have also talked about an independent black candidate.

David Marston, the Philadelphia prosecutor removed by Carter two years ago, won the Republican primary and has already begun a series of radio ads on black stations, attacking Green as part of the Rizzo gang.

Philadelphia has not had a Republican mayor for nearly 30 years, but it does not seem likely at this time that Green will have any luck winning over the city's black vote.

Many anti-Rizzo whites may have simply not bothered to vote in the primary because they distrust Green. For the first time in the city's history it may be true that a larger percentage of black than white registered voters went to the polls. So it is possible—though unlikely—that Philadelphia could wind up with a Republican mayor in the fall—which may represent progress of some kind.

In the meantime, left-of-liberal groups who united to oppose Rizzo and sat out the primary, are probably going to sit out the election too.

A black political party?

By James Quinn

PHILADELPHIA

THIS YEAR'S PHILADELPHIA primary to choose major party candidates for mayor, city controller and city council was expected to be different. But nobody expected the results that came or the fact that one-quarter of the voting machines would be impounded, putting off the final results for months.

Frank Rizzo was barred by the city's charter from running again, and the reform wing of the Democratic Party, buoyed by the huge anti-Rizzo vote in the fight over his attempt to change the city charter, expected to win big—and to win clean.

William J. Green, a former congressman with ordinarily good liberal credentials, was endorsed by just about every major white political group, including the Americans for Democratic Action (A-

DA), which had claimed credit for the victory over Rizzo's charter change.

Green ran a quiet, moneyed campaign, promising to "bring the city together again." Polls showed his winning with over 60 percent of the vote—and both the pro-Rizzo candidate and a rival liberal dropped out of the race in the last weeks, leaving no major opponent but Charles Bowser, a black, who was supposed to get no more than 25 percent of the vote.

This was the most racially divisive vote in the city's history. Green, who appears to have won with slightly more than 50 percent of the vote, carried only white wards, with margins of 80 percent and more. But Bowser refused to concede defeat, charging widespread irregularities and fraud. The city's voting machines were impounded by the courts because of a printing error that caused them to tally votes for the wrong candidate.

At least 3,000 demonstrators, mostly black, have joined with Bowser in calling for a complete recount of the election—and perhaps a new primary. As in the struggle over the charter change, there were reports of machine malfunctions in black wards—though apparently fewer this year than in the past.

In the race for other offices, pro-Rizzo candidates have done surprisingly well. The reform candidate for city controller (an office that oversees city finances) lost to a machine-backed candidate with close ties to Rizzo and a record that includes pleading the Fifth Amendment before an investigating committee.

Marge Tartaglione, a member of the election commission, was re-elected easily—though she spent last election night in jail, accused of illegally moving an en-

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CIVIL RIGHTS



New myths sustain segregated schools

By Willis D. Hawley

ONCE UPON A TIME, NOT SO long ago, it seemed clear that to desegregate schools was the right thing to do. But a funny thing happened on the 20-year journey from the South to the North. The moral imperative and great hopes that gave momentum to desegregation efforts seem to have been replaced by a combination of pessimism and pragmatism. The old mythology held that children of all colors learning side-by-side would bring about the end of prejudice and substantially undermine social inequalities. This faith has apparently given way to a new mythology that we've tried our best but that the costs of imposing desegregation on an unwilling community generally outweigh the benefits.

This new mythology is based on a number of assumptions: School desegregation is seen to have increased interracial conflict, destroyed the self-confidence of communities and neighborhoods, generated white flight, and not even improved the economic position of blacks.

But recent findings by a group of scholars associated with the Center for Education at Duke University belie these assumptions. Their findings suggest that Americans have been too quick to abandon the hopes for desegregation first aroused by the Brown decision.

MYTH ONE:

Desegregation increases interracial conflict.

The proponents of school desegregation hoped that it would help end racial prejudice, but some see the community conflict and racial disorders that court-ordered desegregation often brings as evidence that school desegregation is counterproductive of good race relations.

Christine Rossell, of Boston University, studied the impact of desegregation on adult opinion. Her results don't support this. Rossell found that:

- The reduction in segregation in schools nationwide has been associated with dramatic reductions in racial intolerance over the last several years.

- The increase in support for school integration is greater in the South where

there has been the greatest amount of forced desegregation.

- Whites are overwhelmingly opposed to busing as a means to desegregate the schools. But in most communities the prominence of the "busing problem" in the public mind has begun to recede by the end of the first year of implementation.

- Both blacks and whites greatly overestimate their neighbors' opposition to securing racial balance in the public schools.

- There is still polarization over racial issues at the end of the second year of desegregation in school districts where there has been a great deal of violence and controversy associated with desegregation. Most whites, however, feel their relations with blacks are friendly or neutral, despite desegregation controversy.

- Parents of public school children are likely to have more positive attitudes toward desegregation than other adults. One recent study suggests that court orders may actually diminish opposition to busing among parents.

Desegregated schools do experience greater interracial disruptions than segregated schools; how could it be otherwise? But desegregation does not appear to be a major cause of school violence. The report of the massive Safe School Study shows that "a school's being under court order to desegregate is associated with only a slight increase in the amount of student violence when other factors are taken into account. It shows further that there is no consistent association between the number of children bused and school violence, controlling for other factors. Some violence may be due to the initiation of mandatory desegregation, but as time goes on and larger numbers of students are bused to achieve racial balance, the desegregation process ceases to be a factor."

MYTH TWO:

Busing children is harmful.

There is no systematic research on the impact of busing. A study in Louisville, Ky., shows, however, that other institutions, especially churches and synagogues, are more fundamental to community life than the school. Moreover, schools draw-

ing children from outside neighborhoods can continue to serve as neighborhood centers when they provide a range of community services such as recreation, library and senior citizen activities.

While the financial costs of busing to achieve desegregation will vary, most opponents of busing seem to exaggerate the level of additional expenses involved. Gary Orfield, of the University of Illinois, reviews what is known about such expenses and finds that desegregation, on the average, increases a school district's budget less than 2 percent. Ironically, opponents of desegregation have succeeded in restricting the amount of federal funds available to help localities deal with increased costs but have not affected the need of school systems to bus students to achieve desegregation.

Understandably, when parents are confronted with the possibility that their children will be bused, they worry that it will be a hardship. However, the research indicates that busing itself has no adverse effects on learning. It seems reasonable to assume that riding buses for extended periods of time would be tiring and would take children away from other activities from which they could benefit. Nonetheless, it also seems likely that we have romanticized the virtues of the neighborhood school. And, as should be now be well known, riding the bus is safer than walking to school.

MYTH THREE:

Desegregation doesn't help economic position.

The economic conditions of minorities has been enhanced substantially in recent years. As James McPartland of Johns Hopkins University observes, "Although large racial differences remain in employment, family incomes, personal earnings and occupational level, there were significant improvements during the prosperous 1960s in black-white gaps that have not been negated by the general problems in the economy of the 1970s."

While these gains have occurred during a period in which schools were being desegregated, desegregation was not necessarily the direct cause of the improved condition of minorities. Nevertheless, it might at least be argued that these gains would not have occurred if desegregation

had increased racial tensions and led to decreased opportunities overall.

Robert Crain and Rita Mahard, of Rand Corporation, have concluded from 1972 research that northern blacks attending desegregated schools are more likely than their cohorts in segregated schools to attend college and to continue on in four-year institutions. In the South, going to a predominantly white school seems to be associated with lower rates of college attendance and of continuation beyond the second year.

MYTH FOUR:

Desegregation leads to white flight.

No other concern so dominates the current debate over school desegregation as does the argument over its impact on and the consequences of the flight of whites from public schools.

Rossell has recently summarized some of the key findings: School desegregation accelerates the long-term decline in white public school enrollment in the year of implementation if it involves the reassignment of white students to formerly black schools or a school system is above 35 percent black. White reassignments to formerly black schools result in more than twice the white flight as black reassignments to white schools. White reassignments to other minority schools (Hispanic, Asian, etc.) appears to result in less white flight than reassignment to black schools. Metropolitan plans have less white flight from desegregation than city-only plans.

The research on white flight suggests that mandatory desegregation will lead to increasingly black and/or Hispanic school systems in some cities, but certainly not in all cities. In communities where white flight threatens, programs like that in effect in Wisconsin, which encourage voluntary interdistrict transfers, can be encouraged. Metropolitan-wide plans will largely eliminate residential flight related to desegregation, and some regions could achieve substantial desegregation without massive busing.

Willis D. Hawley is professor of sociology at the Center for Educational Policy, Duke University.

Brown

Continued from page 2.
racist ideology will remain.

But despite enormous obstacles, some do escape the burden of poverty. Those who do are mostly those with education. It is for this reason that school desegregation is so crucial. Minority children must have access to the best education available. They must not be shunted off into overlooked ghetto schools.

But what do we do about those large urban school systems that are now largely black or Hispanic? The solution is not simple. There can be no real school desegregation unless central city schools are merged with suburban all-white schools in a metropolitan system. This would involve two-way busing, with suburban white children brought into upgraded city schools and blacks taken out into the sometimes plush suburban schools. All the schools in the metropolitan system must be equalized so that suburban parents will not feel, rightly, that their children are being sacrificed to integration. And black parents must be welcomed into the suburban parent associations so that they feel a part of the process.

As for the long bus rides that such a plan requires, kids don't mind them. It is part of their day; they will accept it and even enjoy it. Parents must be educated to understand that.

But even short of a metropolitan system, especially since it was temporarily outlawed by the Milliken decision in Detroit, there are other solutions. In Louisville, after years of stalling, a 75-25 plan was instituted where by every public school in the city reflects the racial composition of student population, 75 percent black and 25 percent white. Millions of federal dollars are being poured into Louisville schools to upgrade them, to integrate them in spirit as well as law. In Detroit, New York, Chicago, where the



The NAACP legal team for Brown vs. Board of Education poses on the steps of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Education is the main escape route from poverty for blacks. That's why school desegregation is crucial. Minority children must have access to the best education.

black-white ratio is also about 75-25, the same plan can be adopted.

But the metropolitan system is far superior to the Louisville plan. It would, for the first time, open communications between the rich and the poor. It would, in the long run, open the suburbs to black residents. And it would stem the tide of the flight from the city. Whites have not so much fled blacks in most cities as they have fled deteriorating schools. If the city schools were equalized with those of the

suburbs, that flight would no longer be necessary.

And for those who would flee the encroachment of minorities, they would find that flight useless since their schools, wherever they would go, would be integrated.

The Milliken decision stands in the way of the metropolitan system of school desegregation. Just as Thurgood Marshall took case after case into the courts trying to overturn Plessy vs. Ferguson to attain school integration, a new generation of

lawyers must now go back to the courts over and over again to overturn Milliken to achieve metropolitan desegregation.

To those who say that to face the current Supreme Court is an exercise in futility, we can only reply that similar courts did not deter Marshall. He stayed at it until he found a court in his favor. No less should be done for the present generation. The right to and the need for equality of education remains as powerful in 1979 as it was in 1954.

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IN THE WORLD

ISRAEL

Israeli peace people back Palestinians

By David Mandel

TEL AVIV

THERE HAVE BEEN FEW POLITICAL actions by Israeli left and peace groups in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Sinai and the Golan Heights since they were conquered by Israel 12 years ago. The recent breaking, several times in the West Bank, of this taboo indicates the importance of imminent confrontation over the area's fate.

The May 2 demonstration near the West Bank Jewish settlement of Tapuah, was the first time several participants had agreed to set foot in the territory whose occupation they consider illegal. The occasion was Israeli Independence Day, an especially sensitive day for Palestinians, and the action was in response to a seven-mile march conducted in the area by Gush Emunim, the messianic movement whose settlement activities sometimes annoy even Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

As some 5,000 Gush supporters boisterously walked across hills and valleys and through Palestinian villages, the local residents organized resistance, symbolic and real. West Bank mayors tried to hold a protest meeting at the nearby village of Salfit, where 1,000 acres were recently expropriated to make way for Jewish settlement. There was sporadic rock throwing at Gush Emunim vehicles, the most serious in the university town of Bir Zeit, where a student was shot, apparently by an Israeli professor from Tel Aviv, who claimed he fired "in the air."

Into this confusing scene came a caravan of one chartered bus and about 20 cars from Jerusalem, bearing banners and leaflets in Hebrew and Arabic: "No to settlements" and "down with the occupation." Miraculously, the motorcade was not stopped by errant rock-throwers or by Israeli soldiers. The demonstration was technically illegal, of course; even if permits were granted for such outings, the organizers would not have applied for one from the military government whose legitimacy they reject.

The 200-person demonstration was initiated by *Shasi* (Israeli Socialist Left), a small, independent Marxist group. Its call, under a neutral label of "Peace Loyalists Bloc," was answered by members of various other left factions, including communists and liberals, Zionists and anti-Zionists, who agreed with the need for urgent and united action. They all placed themselves on a hill overlooking the Gush Emunim march route, chanted and held signs calling the hikers "enemies of peace" and demanding establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The organizers considered the demonstration highly successful, and hope to continue its example of broad cooperation. Although the action won little mention in the Hebrew press, the East Jerusalem, pro PLO Arabic papers welcomed it with page-one headlines and photos, dispelling concerns that the point would be misunderstood.

Besides the pressing political considerations, the demonstration was also initiated in response to the long dormancy of Israel's Peace Now movement, which last year mobilized tens of thousands in support of peace with Egypt, but is divided by the issue of Palestinian independence. And sure enough, nine days later, Peace Now organized its first demonstration in five months, accompanied by its first new political statement in eight months.

Reacting to the wanton destruction of several hundred olive groves, apparently by Jewish soldiers of Kiryat Arba,



Israelis favoring full Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank demonstrate there May 2.

Israeli left demonstrations on the West Bank have stimulated a revival of the Peace Now group. Israeli leftist are hoping the demonstrations will cause Prime Minister Begin to soften his stand in coming talks.

near Hebron, who have long wanted to expand their town into the surrounding fields, Peace Now called on its followers to gather in Jerusalem on the road to Hebron. The plan was symbolically to plant new vines.

About 1,000 people turned up, despite warnings by authorities that the action would not be tolerated. Again, a long caravan set out, and it was promptly stopped about ten miles before Hebron. But the army had apparently not anticipated the militancy of the Peace Now adherents willing to take a stand on the West Bank and to risk arrest.

Stopped by an army roadblock, the caravan itself spread out across the highway and its shoulders, blocking all traffic. Despite the lack of leaflets in Arabic, the cause of delay was quickly explained to Arabs who were trying to get home. Many of them joined the throng milling about the barricade, and those who were in a hurry got plenty of help pushing their cars around the mess, through a field.

While a delegation went to negotiate with the Hebron military governor, the demonstrators sang, chanted, heard a few speeches and scuffled with Jewish settlers, who were not allowed through. Finally, the two-and-a-half hour stalemate ended; the convoy was allowed to proceed, and planting ceremonies were held, with more speeches, near the destroyed vineyard, within sight of the Jewish colony of Kiryat Arba. Again, the peace people were

accorded a warm welcome by local Palestinians, and this time the Hebrew news media gave them wide coverage.

Buoyed by success, Peace Now announced plans for a renewed campaign against West Bank and Gaza settlements and Israeli claims of sovereignty over the areas, for withdrawal (though not specifying total withdrawal) and for peace, including a solution to the Palestinian problem, "taking into account the Palestinian people's legitimate rights and just demands," and "allowing them to participate in determining their own future."

The declaration stopped short of supporting an independent Palestinian state (one speaker at the Hebron action provoked some dissonance among the crowd by voicing such a demand, but most of the audience seemed to support her). Peace Now's approach is more one of claiming to speak for the "silent majority," which is still captive to dire propagandistic warnings about the "threat of a PLO state."

Nevertheless, Peace Now may easily succeed in uniting the growing segment of Israeli opinion, which, at first supportive of the plan for Palestinian autonomy, has now been shocked by Israel's official proposals on the subject.

Israel will apparently open the talks with demands that it continue to be totally responsible for defense and police operations in the territories, that it control all "state lands" (including wide areas

that are, in effect, privately owned) and water resources, and that Jews living in the territories not be subject to the autonomy authorities. In other words, as Begin sums up his conception, autonomy is to apply not to land, but only to people. And these people, the Palestinian residents, are to have no citizenship of their own. Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, considered a relative dove, even proposes that an explicit statement be added to autonomy's definition, making Israel its official "source of authority."

Declarations such as "never a Palestinian state" and continued high-intensity settlement operations also reveal Israel's intentions in the territories.

An instructor at Bir Zeit University near Ramallah (which was ordered closed again after the May 2 demonstrations, and from which two American students were deported for their participation) made the following analogy to describe the autonomy offer: "A prisoner has been jailed for 12 years without trial. Suddenly, one day, the door opens and the jailer walks in, shakes his hand and asks him to sign for the nice new furniture he is about to receive in his cell." An improvement, yes, but what about freedom?

Israeli supporters of Palestinian independence hope that as negotiations proceed, the Jewish public will come to see how far Begin's ideas are from satisfying minimum Palestinian peace conditions—self-determination in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. While it is too early to know how hard the U.S., or even Egypt, will push for agreement to a Palestinian state as a goal, West Bank and Gaza residents, and the PLO, can be counted on to keep up the pressure in the ways they know.

A desperate Palestinian people will be more likely to resort to stepped-up violence and terror, understandable, perhaps, but disastrous in its effect on Israeli Jewish sympathy for their cause. Perhaps, more political contact of the type initiated by Israeli leftists and Peace Now activists can help persuade a commitment to peaceful coexistence among the populations on both sides.

SPAIN

Gonzalez resigns when party doesn't reject Marxist tag

By Diana Johnstone

FELIPE GONZALEZ STUNNED the 28th Congress of the Spanish Socialist Workers party (PSOE) in Madrid on May 20 by resigning as secretary-general after failing to get his party to rip off its official "Marxist" label. Gonzalez chose to make adherence to Marxism a major issue at the Congress. Thus it was a resounding personal defeat when delegates voted two to one for this motion: "The PSOE reaffirms its character as a class, mass, Marxist, democratic and federal party."

But the vast majority of Spain's socialists clearly wanted to have their Marxism and Gonzalez too. By forcing his party to choose between them, the boyish-looking 37-year-old Seville lawyer may be preparing a triumphant comeback. After all, Karl Marx was not available to take over as secretary-general. The post was left vacant, to be filled at a new special congress within the next few months.

Ideological disputes usually express power struggles. In this case, the struggle was apparently not for leadership—Gonzalez has no declared rival—but rather between Gonzalez and the party membership, which has jumped from a few thousand to 200,000 since he was elected secretary-general at a congress held in France in 1974 and which is obviously more radical than he is.

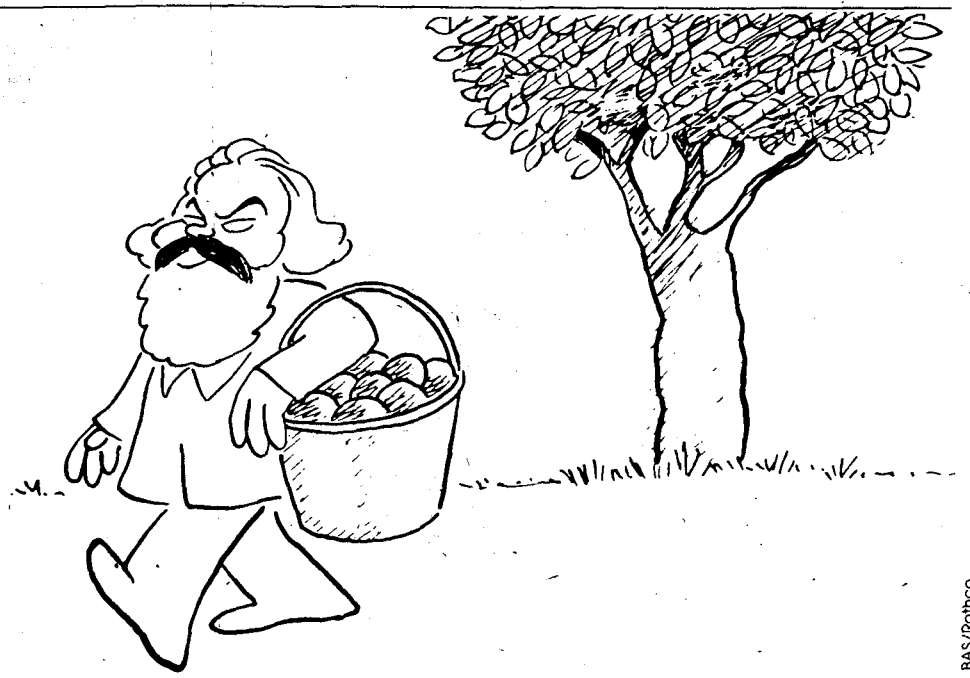
Like the other socialist parties of Latin Europe, the PSOE is torn between its traditional perspective of a total transformation of society and the attraction exerted by the northern European social democratic parties, intent on reforming

rather than changing the system and hostile to cooperation with Communists. Gonzalez has good friends in the leadership of the West German Social Democratic party (SPD). It is generally assumed that the SPD, which virtually created the Socialist Party in neighboring Portugal, helps finance PSOE campaigns, just as the SPD-linked German trade union federation, the DGB, helps fund the PSOE-linked General Workers Union (UGT).

Gonzalez came to socialism from the Young Catholic Workers organization. In 1965, he helped open the first legal aid office for workers in Andalusia province. A few years later, he led a revolt of the "internal" militants of the small, semi-clandestine PSOE against the party's "external" leaders in exile.

In post-Franco elections, the PSOE has scored up to 30 percent of the vote, second only to the Democratic Centrist Union (UCD) of Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez. Early successes encouraged Gonzalez to hope that by picking up more middle-class votes thanks to its moderate image, the PSOE might eventually be able to govern by itself, without having to deal with the Communist Party (PCE). In fact, the PSOE did not do as well as expected in the March parliamentary elections; but it did make a pact with the PCE enabling the left to elect mayors and bring the beginnings of democratic government to over half Italy's urban population.

In his report to the Congress, Gonzalez made no mention of this pact or of united action with the Communists. His report was largely self-critical. He said the party ought to have "mobilized the people" instead of letting large parts of the population—especially youth—lose



BAS/ROTHCO

Delegates to the 28th Congress of the Spanish Socialists Workers Party voted to reaffirm its character as a "class, mass, Marxist, democratic and federal party," rejecting the bid to rip off its Marxist label.

interest in the democratic process.

He said that the "economic and financial right wing," which was discredited and threatened at the time of Franco's death, had been able to get back in control, thanks to public indifference.

Gonzalez defended as necessary the October 1977 "Moncloa Pact" between the government and the left parties which, by putting the lid on wage demands, took much of the steam out of working-class militancy. But he admitted the "fundamental error" of not driving a harder bargain. The Suarez government turned out "not to deserve our confidence" because it failed to keep its promise to democratize economic and social life, he said.

The Congress was stormy and emotion-

al. Recent party policy came under heavy attack, mostly as being too conservative. The biggest source of dissatisfaction was the party's approach to the super-sensitive issue of regional autonomy. In retrospect, it is obvious that the PSOE fell into a trap by accepting posts in powerless "pre-autonomy" regional bodies whose only role was to take the blame for conservative policies emanating from Madrid.

Thus the Congress stressed the "federal" character of the PSOE, hoping to win back votes lost to nationalist parties in the Basque country and in Andalusia (where severe unemployment has given impetus to regional movements).

Another source of disappointment has been the failure of the UGT to grow as big as the PCE-linked Workers Commissions. PSOE information officer Javier Solano voiced the "social democratic" diagnosis of the trouble when he complained that shortage of money, notably strike funds, kept the UGT from making itself felt as the workers' protector. Lack of money "leads unions to get political, which hurts democratic stability," he said.

As to how to improve party fortunes, Gonzalez and most of the party base were tugging in different directions.

Image-projecting is all very well for their attractive, telegenic leader, but most rank and file members want to be able to get out there with a bold program that can activate the working class. "Marxism" was taken as the anchor to keep the party from drifting ever farther to the right in its search to please conservative voters and West German backers.

It was one year ago that Gonzalez suggested getting rid of the "Marxist" label, just after the PCE jettisoned "Leninism." The idea did not catch on. Opening the Congress on May 17, Madrid's new Socialist mayor Enrique Tierno Galvan got an ovation when he warned that abandoning ideological standards could open the party to people "less sincere or less decent." But Gonzalez considered the issue so crucial that he went ahead to force a showdown he was bound to lose—especially since, by his own admission, he handled the argument tactlessly.

The majority had no wish to get rid of their popular young leader. By voting against him on the Marxism issue, they just wanted to assert control over his policy decisions. This he refused. His surprise resignation may shock the membership into taking him back on his own terms. Until a new Congress chooses the secretary-general, the party is being run by a temporary committee of four colorless men and one forceful woman, Carmen Garcia, an ardent supporter of Felipe Gonzalez.

CUBAN TERRORISTS

To stop U.S.-Cuba normalizing, terrorists go back to assassinations

By Connie Paige

GRADUAL MOVEMENT toward normalization of relations between Cuba and the U.S. has sparked a resurgence of right-wing terrorist activity by Cubans living in the U.S. In what may be a desperate final attempt to keep the two countries apart, anti-Castro Cubans (in their native land called *gusanos*, or, literally, worms) have begun an apparent campaign of assassination against their countrymen in the continental U.S. and Puerto Rico.

In the wake of one death, Cuban Americans who support normalization are calling on the U.S. government, and particularly Attorney General Griffin Bell and President Carter, to intervene.

"At this point, we do not think it is an official policy of the U.S. to promote assassinations," explained Mauricio Gaston, a Cuban activist living in the Boston area. "However, we do think that the government allows the right-wing Cubans to operate with impunity. That's a fact. The government organized them, trained them and armed them years ago. Now the government has the responsibility to disarm them."

The current controversy began after the shooting April 28 of Carlos Muniz, a Cuban-born resident of Puerto Rico. Muniz was president of Varadero Tours,

Cuban office in Washington bombed

On Saturday, May 20, at 1 a.m., one of a two-man team hurled a parcel containing explosives over the back fence of the Cuban Interest Section of the Czechoslovakian embassy in Washington, D.C. Moments later, the package exploded causing damage to the building's exterior and to several rooms inside.

Shortly afterward, the Washington police received a message that Omega 7 had tossed the bomb. The message contained the warning: "Pull Cuban troops out of Africa or else." FBI officials acknowledged that Omega 7 is an acronym for the Cuban Nationalist Movement (CNM), two of whose members received light sentences for the murders of Orlando Letelier and Karen Moffitt.

ITT sources inside the Cuban exile community claim that the CNM is also responsible for the murder of Carlos Muniz and the attempted murder of Rev. Espinoza in Miami earlier in May.

The CNM uses the acronym O when it attacks people while Omega 7 is reserved for property damage.

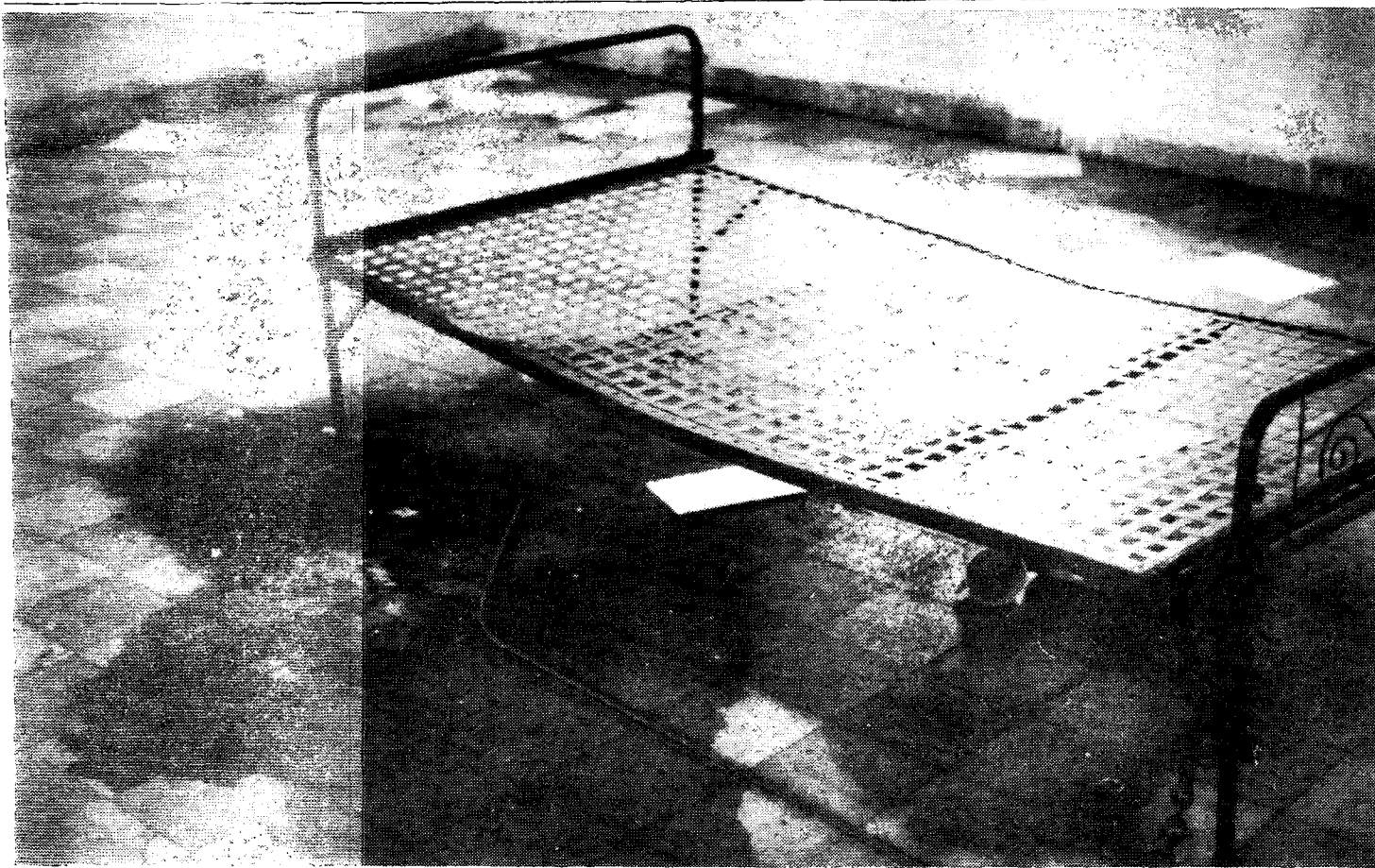
a travel agency that has been sponsoring trips to Cuba for Cubans living in Puerto Rico. Along with other such groups, Varadero Tours has helped thousands of Cubans from a number of countries visit their homeland.

The trips were made possible by the accords in Havana last November and December between representatives of the Cuban communities abroad and the Cuban government. Nicknamed "the Dialogue," the accords not only allowed travel to Cuba, but also guaranteed the release of over 3,000 political prisoners and promised reunification of families split up after the revolution—preliminary steps towards normalization.

The Dialogue had come under attack almost immediately, according to Operation Cuban Reunification, the group formed to carry out the accords.

The death prompted an outpouring of public sentiment unusual for the Cuban community. The Spanish language *Miami Herald* printed a front-page picture of a motorcade of 150 cars full of people demonstrating in sympathy with Muniz two days after his shooting. In Boston, a group of 100 held a memorial service for him downtown. Several pro-Cuban groups in the U.S. have called for a complete investigation of the Muniz affair, begun a telegram campaign to Attorney General Bell and President Carter enlisting their help, and asked for congressional support.

CAMBODIA: EYEWITNESS REPORT



Prisoners of the Pol Pot regime were chained to this bed and tortured. Bloodstains and tufts of hair cover the floor.

No one knows how many

By Wilfred Burchett

PHNOM PENH, CAMBODIA

IN THIS LAND OF HORRORS, THE first place I have found where reliable statistics are available is the death factory in the former Tuol Sleng high school in the outskirts of Phnom Penh. There meticulous details were kept of the numbers killed every day for years. The victims, horribly tortured before they died, include Sihanouk's first ambassador to the UN, Huot Sam Bath (ambassador to Belgrade at the time of his recall for "consultations" by Pol Pot) and virtually every Cambodian diplomat or intellectual known abroad, who was unwise enough to respond to the "consultations" invitation.

In 16 different spacious rooms, the torturer-executioners were at work—like other Kampuchians—for seven days a week. Each seems to have disposed on the average of eight victims a day.

A long list of guidelines personally drawn up by Pol Pot in his own handwriting stipulated that victims once in the torture chamber, "must know they are going to die so might as well make a full confession and get it over with quickly, but they must not be killed until a full confession has been extracted."

The period between arrest and being led into the torture-execution chamber was only a few days, during which the victims were confined two at a time in cells three feet wide by six feet long, chained by the legs. The torture chambers were simple enough: a bare iron bedstead with padlocked leg chains, a table with two chairs, one for the interrogator, another with a typewriter in front of it for the note-taker. A favorite type of torture was plucking out head hair with pincers; tufts of it lie at the head of each bedstead and copious blood stains the floor underneath. Executions were carried out with axes, hammers, short-handed spades and jungle knives.

In the neatly hand-written lists of each day's proceedings is noted the age and profession or education of each victim and the date of arrest and death. In some cases a notation in red ink is made of any exceptional form of execution. The small staff available for processing the great volume of data (which included separate files on their "confessions"), had started classification under headings such as "students invited to return from France." (The number of those listed as killed, together with names of their studies or competencies was 147), "former diplomats invited to return" and "members of original

Sihanouk-led resistance government." (Among those names were virtually all Cambodians I had known during four years' residence in Phnom Penh and many years' contacts with Cambodian leaders and diplomats abroad who had accepted Pol Pot's blandishments to return.)

In a haphazard selection of the daily lists of killed were 100 on Aug. 6, 1976, 191 on Aug. 21, 92 on Aug. 31, 120 on Nov. 11, 1976 and 256 on June 20, 1977.

On the day that troops of the new Vietnamese-backed government of Kampuchea burst into the extermination center, they found 14 of the 61 bedsteads occupied by corpses in various states of mutilation. They also found four children—

aged from four to 11—the only survivors to pass through the gates of the former Tuol Sleng high school. Their parents had been killed a week or so earlier and the children had been shown the corpses with the warning: "This will happen to you also unless you support the Pol Pot revolution."

My guide around this grisly monument was a Madame Ing Sarin, former high school teacher. Her husband, a forestry engineer, had been executed in the eastern province of Svay Rieng. Two of their four children had died of malnutrition, she said.

Her two brothers, one an electrical engineer, the other a school teacher, had

been killed together with their wives and children, and her sister together with her husband and children had also been killed.

In one of the first interviews he gave after reaching the U.S. (to the Parisian daily, *Le Matin*, on Jan. 27, 1979) Cambodia's former head of state Norodom Sihanouk, after severely denouncing the atrocities of the Pol Pot regime predicted that an "Auschwitz would soon be discovered." But it appears that the Tuol school is only one of many.

No one knows and no one ever will know how many people were killed. The Tuol school was merely the extermination ground for intellectuals and others who might become prestigious political opponents.

It will be easier eventually to establish how many Cambodians have survived rather than how many have been killed. The new government has made a rough census of those now leading a "stabilized life" under their control. This means those who have been reunited with their families, have returned to their original villages and have elected or are electing administrative committees. These total about 3.1 million. Another half million have been temporarily installed in areas where they can take part in the effort this season to get a rice crop planted, before they continue their move to return to their original villages. A few tens of thousands more are on the road moving east to west and west to east to regain their native villages from which they were uprooted by the Pol Pot regime. There are a few tens of thousands more in remote jungle areas where Pol Pot guerrillas are still active. The total population may reach upwards of five million out of between seven and eight million at the time the Pol Pot forces ousted those of Lon Nol on April 17, 1975.

The displacement of population, highlighted by the evacuation of Phnom Penh and other urban centers and by the deliberate extermination of everyone with a secondary education and above, weigh heavily on the present attempts to normalize economic and social life.

A visit to two provincial capitals, Prey Veng, 60 miles southeast of Phnom Penh, and Kompong Speu, 25 miles almost due west of the capital, and to their surrounding village gives an idea of the magnitude of the task of normalizing life in this mar-

Continued on page 18.

Cambodian head admits food woes

Exclusive interview with new President Heng Samrin

During a two-hour interview with Heng Samrin, the 45-year-old president of the newly founded People's Republic of Kampuchea estimated that the country's population had fallen to around four and a half million from the seven to eight million at the time of the collapse of the Lon Nol regime on April 17, 1979. The overwhelming majority of the others had been massacred by the Pol Pot regime. Asked what the government's priority tasks are, he replied, "Settle the people, help reunite them with their families and return to their native villages, provide them with food and clothing, renormalize life, open schools and hospitals and the pagodas, get rice production started, especially before the start of this year's rainy season."

A small, slight man of considerable composure, Heng Samrin under Pol Pot was a member of the Communist Party's Executive Committee, and deputy chief of staff for the all-important "Eastern Zone" bordering on Vietnam, where 80 percent of Pol Pot's 23 divisions were stationed by December 1978. He also combined the functions of political commissar of the Eastern Zone's elite 4th division. In May 1978, he spearheaded an armed insurrection against the Pol Pot leadership that was joined by many other units. It was this that gave rise to the formation of the United Front for National Salvation.

Asked to what extent guerrilla activity

by the Pol Pot forces was a threat to his regime, Heng Samrin replied that the security situation was in general "good," with enemy activity limited to "across border raids" from Thailand. "Small bands are permitted to enter Thailand, where they are re-equipped by the Chinese and sent back into the Battambang border areas. They kill some people, destroy some villages and make a big noise about their activities. But this has no effect on the general security situation." (The present Kampuchea authorities claim that Pol Pot and Ieng Sary have fled to Kunming in south China, from where they direct Kampuchean language broadcasts of fantastic claims of non-existent battles.)

Heng Samrin admitted that the food situation was "very difficult" at the moment, but that a great effort was being made to get sufficient rice planted for the forthcoming rainy season to make the country self-sufficient by the end of this year. But it is clear from what he said, and from the general situation in the countryside, that Kampuchea is heading for near-famine conditions in the next few months.

Among other difficulties is the fact that well over 100,000 hectares of excellent rice-producing land in Svay Rieng, Prey Veng and Kompong Cham provinces—all bordering on Vietnam—have been taken out of cultivation because of Pol Pot's obsession in ensuring total lack of contact between Kampuchean and Vietnamese peasants in the frontier provinces. Another is the high proportion of population moving east-west and west-east to re-install themselves in their original vil-

lages from which they were uprooted.

The president said, "There is also the problem of those who want to return to Phnom Penh. At present there are few facilities, lack of electricity, lack of water supply, lack of jobs. We advise them to settle temporarily in the countryside near Phnom Penh, grow vegetables, catch fish to supply those with essential jobs in the city. Gradually, as jobs become available for the skills they have, they can come in."

Referring to the massacres, President Heng Samrin explained that the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime (the official terminology in referring to the "Khmer Rouges") had divided the population into three categories. He did not go into detail, but others of his cadres were more explicit, and their explanations were born out by on-the-spot investigations in town and countryside.

Category one were the "goodies" who remained in the resistance areas under the control of the Khmer Rouges during the anti-Lon Nol resistance war. Category two were those who failed to respond to an appeal by Pol Pot in February 1975 for everybody to leave Phnom Penh and other urban areas for liberated zones and were marked down as "potential enemies." Category three were those who had served in the Lon Nol or Sihanouk army or administration and were to be ruthlessly exterminated.

The tasks of getting this tortured, traumatized society back on its feet would have daunted far more experienced leaders than President Heng Samrin. But he seems confident that he can succeed "with the aid of socialist friends and the progressive world."

—Wilfred Burchett

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The transition to solar and phasing out of nuclear power ought to be the major issue of the 1980 presidential election. I'd be happy to organize a new party to do that.

Barry Commoner, noted authority on energy issues, is the author of THE CLOSING CIRCLE, THE POVERTY OF POWER and a new book, THE POLITICS OF ENERGY. He heads the Center for the Biology of Natural Systems, at Washington University, St. Louis. On April 27, Jon Kalish, a reporter with WBAI radio in New York and regular ITT contributor, talked with Commoner. Commoner was on the East Coast for, among other things, the Village Voice Teach-In on nuclear power, and the May 6 March on Washington.

By Jon Kalish

You were out of the country when the Three Mile Island accident happened. Now that you're back, what is your assessment of the accident?

What happened there was, unfortunately, a practical demonstration of what a number of us have been saying about nuclear power. It's inherently dangerous and very difficult to control. It's therefore difficult to avoid the kind of accident that happened there.

A number of us have been saying nuclear power is the wrong way to boil water, which is after all the only thing you want to happen in a power plant. You boil water and make steam and then the steam runs the electric generator.

Nuclear power will certainly boil water, but it does an awful lot more. It produces radioactivity. Most of the trouble and most of the cost in nuclear power plants is not in boiling the water to make the steam, but in the way you get the heat to do that, and what happened at Three Mile Island very clearly illustrates exactly that.

What started the whole thing was that a pump failed in the pipe system that circulates the water for the steam. Every power plant, whether it's nuclear or not, has such a system. If a pump in such a system in a coal plant failed, I can assure you that nobody would have interrupted Mr. Carter's weekend. In a coal plant, it might have burnt out the boiler and that would have cost the utility some money, but it wouldn't threaten a million people with radioactive calamity.

It's time to talk about the practicality of phasing out nuclear power, and there are very clear ways of doing it. I am not in favor of shutting down a nuclear power plant if it's going to mean a blackout... because they've got us trapped. We've got to have the electricity.

Bill Lee, the president of Duke Power in South Carolina, says there will be rotating blackouts as a result of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's (NRC) order to shut down the three Oconee nukes.

That's dead wrong. Take the Chicago area, which is more dependent on nuclear power than anywhere in the country: 44 percent of their electricity comes from nuclear power plants. If you jacked up the usage of their non-nuclear plants, which

are now operating at only 37 percent of capacity, and brought them up to 57 percent, you could close down four of the seven nuclear plants in Chicago. All the electricity produced by nuclear power plants in the U.S. is just about equal to the excess capacity that the entire system now has.

President Carter has said that conservation will play an important role in the nation's energy policy. But many people, including you, have been saying that's just a lot of talk.

The Carter energy policy is, as I say in my new book, *The Politics of Energy*, a deceit. It really doesn't solve the energy crisis at all. Even if the conservation amounted to much it would only delay the crisis. In fact, there was more nuclear power in the Carter energy plan than conservation.

Of the new energy that we would need between now and 1985, conservation was to meet 16 percent... but nuclear power would meet 23 percent.

It's more of a nuclear plan than a conservation plan. It goes heavily in the direction of the production of new electric power plants, which means that you're getting ready to go for a breeder system.

The Carter energy plan was really designed to push the country in the direction of nuclear power. Of course, it didn't really get passed; it was just hashed up by Congress and now I suppose Carter is going to come up with something new, but the country needs an energy plan. The administration has failed to give us an energy plan, and I think it's our turn to develop one.

You have been saying for quite a while now that we should be heading down the solar energy path. You say there is a transitional period between where we are now and where we should be.

The word "transition" is very important. A lot of people say we're in a terrible situation, and there's a nice solar system and that's it. The big question is: how do you get from here to there? You have to do it without interrupting the flow of energy. Energy is essential for everything we do and any interruption is going to cause an awful lot of trouble in the economy. We can certainly get to a solar system over the course of 50 years. But we have to start right now, using the existing non-renewable sources of energy—oil, gas, coal and uranium—to facilitate the passage to solar.

The bridging fuel, the current non-renewable fuel that will carry us efficiently into the solar system is natural gas. Not electricity, not coal, not uranium, not oil but natural gas. If we begin to expand the use of natural gas, we can begin to introduce solar energy in a thrifty way.

Everybody who woke up this morning in Chicago and boiled water for coffee on a gas stove was using solar energy. A lot of people in Chicago don't know that.

The gas company in Chicago, People's Gas, contracted about a year ago with a feed lot in Oklahoma to buy the methane (methane is the fuel of natural gas) produced from the manure of the cattle. That's put into the pipeline that carries natural gas from Texas to Chicago. It's being operated at a profit.

Next year you could get some methane from, let's say, Ozark timber, and another year you could introduce methane into the pipeline from sugar cane residues in Louisiana. In that way you could gradually put solar methane into the natural gas pipeline. Any system that's operating on natural gas is then going solar.

You can get heat and electricity very easily from natural gas by putting the gas into a cogenerator—an engine that turns an electric generator. The heat that is normally thrown away then gets recaptured to be used for heating the house, the electricity for providing electricity.

Now you can add solar collectors to replace the heat and photo voltaic cells to replace the electricity...cutting back on the use of methane and meanwhile you're taking your methane from solar sources. That's a transition.

In New York City more and more industries are becoming interested in cogeneration, and that, of course, comes as bad news to Consolidated Edison.

The *New York Times* wrote an editorial against cogeneration, which is really shocking on their part. The people in New York who want to put in cogenerators are, for the most part, interested in cogenerators that run on diesel. Diesel exhausts pollute and that gives Con Ed and the *Times* a good excuse for opposing the idea of cogeneration.

Natural gas-operated cogenerators are non-polluting. All natural gas produces when you burn it is carbon dioxide and water and that's what you and I produce when we burn our fuel. So the point is, you would not hurt the environment. You'd save money and energy by putting buildings that now use Con Ed power on gas-operated cogenerators.

There is no doubt that the more people who turn to cogeneration, the more trouble Con Ed is going to be in. The utility is allowed to set its rates on the basis of the capital it's invested, and if it's not using the capital very much—that is, if its power plants are not operating at full capacity—it will raise its rates. When it raises its rates, more people will become interested in gas-operated cogenerators and the utility will lose more customers and raise its rates again. It's negative feedback.

The moment an alternative to central electric power can be put into place, that's the end of the electric utility as a successful private enterprise. And frankly, we have to make a choice. Are we going to exploit the enormous economic and social advantages of cogeneration and so-

3 APPROACH

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lat electricity and mark the end of the utility as a private investment? Or are we going to sacrifice these advantages in order to maintain the private investors?

We're going to have to face the long-standing taboo in this country that you mustn't run something for a social purpose.

The nuclear industry is now saying that it can learn from the mistakes at Three Mile Island and will make nuclear power safer.

The accident at Three Mile Island dooms nuclear power as an economically viable industry. Before Three Mile Island the industry was in deep economic trouble. Only two new plants were ordered last year. Four years ago 34 were ordered. The manufacturers are in trouble because they're not getting enough orders.

The utilities are in trouble, because they have to spend much more capital than they thought and they're having problems raising capital. Their stock is falling; the banks are much more leery. Now the NRC is calling for shutdowns and new controls, which will be expensive. Nuclear power is being priced right out of the market. It makes no sense to continue it. What we've got to do is phase it out without going into blackouts, and we can do that.

I favor using the capabilities that are in the solar transition and applying them to those areas of the country being held hostage to nuclear power like Chicago and New England.

Is it possible for solar, wind and other alternative energy technologies to take hold without the cooperation of the federal government? Is it possible for the backyard tinkers and small-time solar entrepreneurs to get things off the ground by themselves?

No, I don't think so. There's nothing wrong with building your own windmill. But in terms of providing the country as a whole—industry, agriculture, transportation—with the energy it has to have, the only way we're going to get it going is by what I call "social governance." The government has got to use public funds in a socially useful way to start the thing going.

The classical example is photovoltaic electricity. These are gadgets being used in satellites. The only trouble is they're expensive. Two years ago the Federal Energy Administration worked out a program to bring the price down to where it is competitive with residential utility electricity. To do it the government would have to spend \$440 million, not on research but simply to place an order. If the government placed an order that big, the industry would automate, the price would drop and off we go.

That's exactly what happened with integrated circuits, the little chips that go into computers. In 1960 they cost \$50 each and only the Defense Department

could afford to buy them and put them in missiles. But they bought so many that the industry expanded, and in six years the price went down to \$2.50. That's why today we have those cheap computers and TV games.

If the government would invest \$440 million in photovoltaics this thing would be off and running in five years. Carter vetoed that proposal. The result was that the biggest photovoltaic cell manufacturer in the U.S., Solarex, made an agreement with a big Italian company to build the world's largest photovoltaic cell factory in Florence, Italy. If we don't look out we'll be buying our photovoltaic cells from Italy.

Along with our cogenerators.

Yes. Fiat has built the first one-family house-size cogenerator and the Brooklyn Union Gas Co. here in New York has now got four of them to test with an eye toward being the U.S. distributor. When I was in Italy a few weeks ago, I saw one that operates on methane produced from pig manure. It's a beautiful piece of equipment. This is the way to go, but we aren't doing it.

These issues are no longer technical,

they're no longer economic. The issue is political. The transition to solar energy and the phasing out of nuclear power ought to become the dominant issue of the 1980 presidential election. I don't see the Republican or the Democratic party doing it. I'd be happy to organize a new party to do that.

A couple of years ago Sam Lovejoy was predicting that nuclear power would do to Jimmy Carter what the war in Vietnam did to Lyndon Johnson. As the 1980 presidential race nears that seems like a good possibility.

It could well be. The anti-war movement made one big mistake. After all, it stopped the war in Vietnam and deposed two presidents, Johnson and Nixon. In any sensible political system, any group that accomplished that would now be in power. They'd be in office. But that didn't happen and I think the anti-war movement has to blame themselves...ourselves, because I'm one of them.

There was an enormous reluctance to engage in the nitty-gritty of electoral politics on the basis of the political position that had been developed. Now I hope that doesn't happen this time.

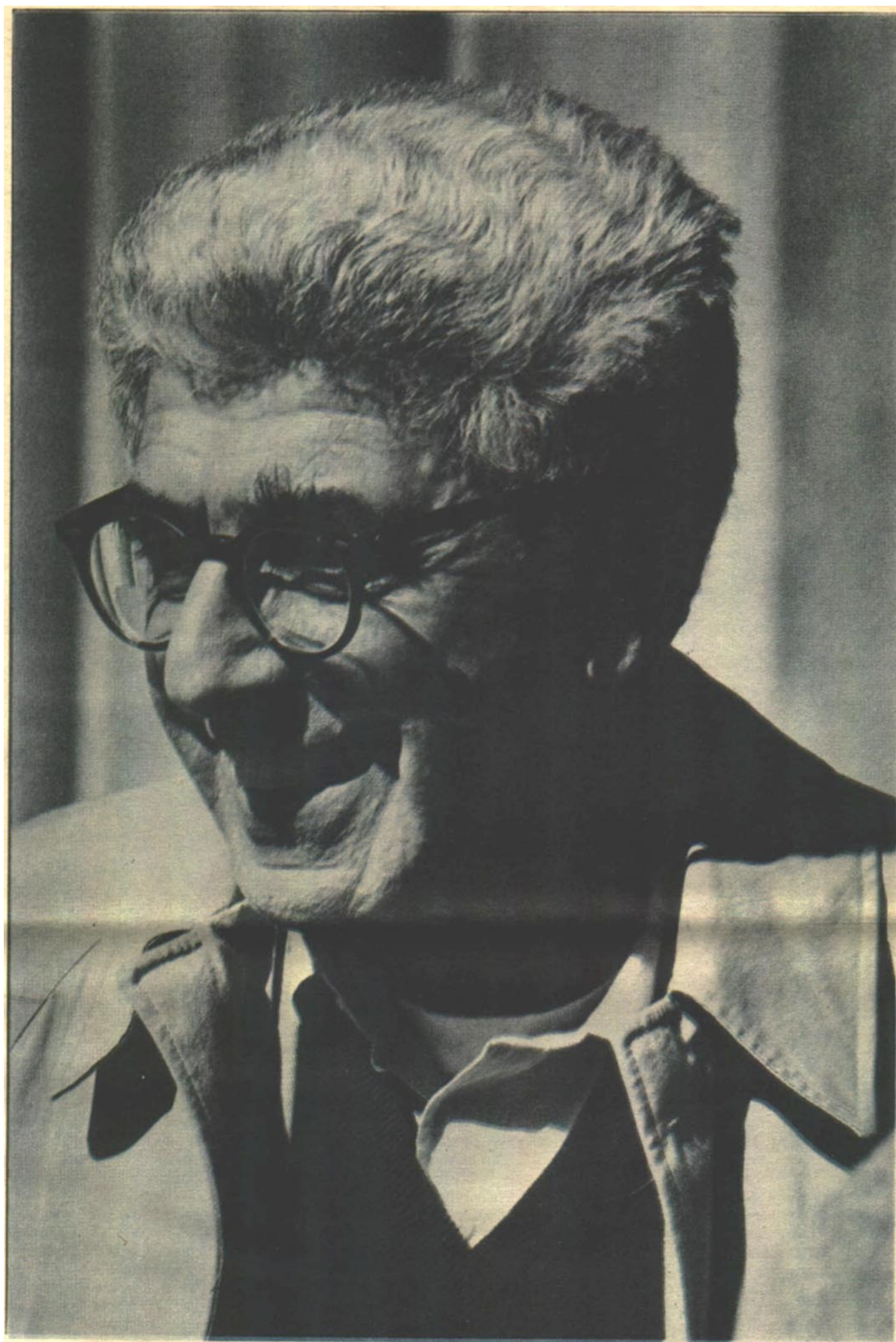
I hope that people will begin to realize

that as we gain more and more support for the solar transition, for phasing out nuclear power...not just on the basis of small-is-beautiful ethical stuff, or even fear of radiation, but just on the basis that people want their utility bills brought down.

The more that happens, we have the opportunity—and I would say the responsibility—not to simply beat our breasts about stopping nuclear power or even introducing solar. We have the responsibility of introducing our ideas into the political process. And as I said before, if either one of the parties is not receptive to the idea, I think it may be time to start a new party.

I don't consider either of the two major political parties to be political vehicles. All they do is come and borrow our votes every four years. They have no political program. They'll pass a platform at the convention and then absolutely forget it.

We lack the political vehicle to express what the people want. Those of us who want to see a change in the energy system may have to accept the responsibility of creating that political vehicle. That's tough, but if we don't, we're going to fall in the same trap that the anti-war people fell into.



Andrew Pappas

EDITORIAL

Pass the SALT and raze the ammunition

The debate over the SALT II treaty reveals once again how little progress has been made toward nuclear disarmament or the demilitarization of world politics. Far from it. In the years since the nuclear test ban, the Non-Proliferation Treaty, detente, and SALT I, the U.S. and the Soviet nuclear arsenals have grown, other nations have entered the nuclear club, and the waging of nuclear warfare, instead of becoming "unthinkable," is now integral to the political strategy of the two superpowers and their respective blocs.

The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, along with the first treaty of 1972 and the second now pending, have turned out to involve agreements on regulating nuclear arms escalation. SALT I permitted the Soviet Union and the U.S. to increase the number of their nuclear warheads and develop more deadly weapons. SALT II would do the same. (See story, *ITT*, May 23.)

The pending treaty and its protocol "limit" the nuclear arms race only by putting ceilings on escalation, applying those ceilings to a wider range of weapons, and slowing down the rate of weapons "modernization." The Soviets are trading quantitative limits on the growth of their own arsenal for qualitative limits on the improvement of the American arsenal.

The net result is continued nuclear escalation.

The statement of principles accompanying SALT II expresses the intent to achieve real nuclear arms cutbacks in SALT III, which is to succeed SALT II after its expiration in 1985. But given the past history of nuclear arms negotiations, including the past seven years of negotiations that gave us SALT II, it is unwise to regard the "principles" as by themselves anything more than a pious palliative.

To secure Senate ratification, Carter has had to agree to substantial increases in military spending. He will probably have to pledge development of a mobile missile system (the MX-MPS). And he is under intense pressure to restore the draft. All of which will invite Soviet responses and further military escalation. If matched by a similar Soviet system, the MX-MPS alone, by making verification of weapons capacity virtually impossible, may render future agreements limiting strategic missiles and nuclear warheads impossible, and finally lock the world into an irreversible nuclear arms race.

What then, is the value of SALT II, to the cause of disarmament and peace? Disarmament proponents (we included) are of sorely divided mind on the question. Their arguments for ratification (e.g., Harry Boyte, *ITT*, April 4) and against (e.g., Patrick Lacefield, this issue, p. 17) appear to us equally persuasive and equally unsatisfying.

If ever there were a cause that offered nothing better than a lesser evil, ratification of SALT II is it. And it is also a case where the lesser evil (regulated escalation) has become less and less, less evil.

But one crucial aspect of SALT II makes its ratification one of those lesser evils requiring support. Like the SALT process as a whole, SALT II signifies American recognition that the era of its nuclear supremacy, and an imperial strategy based upon it, is over. If it institutionalizes the nuclear arms race, SALT II also institutionalizes American recognition of Soviet nuclear parity and of the necessity to pass beyond old Cold War premises of American foreign policy. It recognizes that instead of unilaterally imposed Pax Americana, there must be bi-lateral, even multi-lateral, international agreement in maintaining peace in the midst of global conflicts. If it is not a big step



IT'S THE END OF CIVILIZATION AS WE KNOW IT...

forward to disarmament, it is at least a small, but essential, step toward acknowledging basic realities of a new era in world politics.

That is the real reason for the fierce attack on SALT II by its hawkish opponents, who, it should be remembered, include not only rightists but also a bevy of unreconstructed cold war liberals. They dream of going back to an American military, and hence political, supremacy in the world, even if the pursuit of that nostalgic impossibility means pushing the world over the precipice of nuclear catastrophe. By defeating ratification directly, or indirectly through crippling amendments, they seek to control, and if necessary destroy, the future with the dead hand of the past.

They need to be resoundingly defeated and put behind us as the relics of the bygone era that they are, so that the new realities may sink in and have their chance to shape international affairs.

But ratification of SALT II will not even be a lesser evil unless the American peace and disarmament forces go on the offensive and help create an environment where the treaty's "principles" may become the real basis of future negotiations. That means entering the debate in order to change its terms—from whether the U.S. is "armed enough" to a public awareness that "enough is enough," that it is time to disarm, stop squandering the world's resources on military madness, and turn them to constructive purposes.

As suggested by Richard J. Barnet of the Institute for Policy Studies (*New York Times Magazine*, April 1), four myths must be exposed and removed as premises of American foreign policy: 1) the myth that there is any defense against nuclear weapons; 2) the myth that "nuclear deterrence" is any deterrence to eventual nuclear war; 3) the myth that military escalation enhances "national security" rather than making the U.S. and all other

nations less secure against attack and mass destruction than at any time before in past history; and 4) the myth that rising arms spending can continue without destroying economic well-being and democratic institutions.

In joining the debate, the proponents of peace and disarmament would do well to call for the following:

- A commitment by both the Soviet Union and the U.S. to enter SALT III negotiations immediately after ratification of SALT II (or re-enter negotiations if ratification fails), with a view to implementing the cutback in nuclear arms called for in the treaty's "principles."

- Making permanent the protocol's temporary (through 1981) moratorium on testing and deploying certain new nuclear weapons and extending it to all new nuclear weapons.

- Establishing a timetable for a definite staged nuclear and conventional disarmament, drawing into its establishment, through the UN, all other nations, especially the developing nations with a major stake in stopping the waste of the world's resources and knowhow on militarism.

- Stepping up negotiations for demilitarizing Europe and dismantling military bases on foreign soil.

- Establishing an American conversion program for planning peaceful use of resources and full employment, and inviting international cooperation for global conversion planning.

All candidates for public office should be put on notice that they will face opposition and loss of votes for failure to support these and other such demands. Since genuine disarmament will require a deep recasting of American foreign policy as well as a basic restructuring of the American economy, it will also require broad political alliances between the peace movements and other popular movements. If nothing else, it must drive home the unavoidability of electoral politics in

battling the corporate welfare state and transforming American politics in general.

If support for SALT II's ratification is conducted on this broad ground, it may offer more than an opportunity to back merely another "lesser evil." It may even result in the actualization of the all but forgotten Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, to which the U.S. and the Soviet Union are signatories, and which states:

"Each of the parties to the treaty undertakes to pursue negotiation in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, as well as on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control."

SALT II as it now stands places both the U.S. and the Soviet Union in flagrant violation of Article VI. The struggle for its ratification, if it helps put the disarmament forces in both countries on the offensive, could become a first small but hugely significant step toward compliance. If both governments remain recalcitrant let U.S. and Soviet citizens reach above their governments to join hands in realizing Article VI. ■

Corrections

The note at the end of Harry Brill's review of *The Federal Budget and Social Reconstruction*, last week, mistakenly said the book was available for \$5.95. The correct price is \$7.95 and it may be ordered from Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009, with an additional 75¢ for postage and handling.

Joseph M. Schwartz, author of last week's column on U.S. corporations in South Africa, is a graduate student in government at Harvard University, not Howard.

LETTERS

CHEAP SHOTS

IT'S POLICY OF HELPING TO DEVELOP a socialist-oriented left coalition and helping to eliminate the sectarian divisions that have plagued the left is undercut by the John Judis CED supplement. What good purpose is served by combining a recital of the history and achievements of CED with offsetting scuttlebutt suggesting that the movement may be selling out to Gov. Brown?

And although trivial by comparison, what was the purpose of the statement that CED's "state headquarters are on the top floor of the prestigious Bradbury building in downtown Los Angeles where Raymond Chandler's Phillip Marlowe had his offices?" Honest pro and con articles do not require cheap shots.

—William Spahn
Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y.

TOM HAYDEN AND CED

I APPRECIATE THE INSIGHT THAT YOUR article gave on Tom Hayden (ITT, May 9). Hayden's contemptuous excuse that CED hasn't been concerned with welfare funding, which is why he and CED didn't protest Gov. Brown's rollback of welfare grants, must be comforting to the poor people of our state. I'm both president of Service Employees International Union 535 Santa Barbara Chapter and an eligibility worker in the Welfare Department. I have seen the devastating consequences of Brown's conversion to fiscal conservatism, which Hayden so admires. I have witnessed the suffering caused by Gov. Brown's welfare program cuts. These cuts have been directed against the state's least powerful citizens. Brown is using his reduction in welfare programs as part of his platform for the presidency.

A qualification for principled left political activity is when one comes to the defense of a powerless minority group under attack. During this critical time, when the racist and anti-working class right is on the offense, it is enlightening to see Brown and Hayden betray the poor in our state to try and steal the thunder from this New Right.

If, as Judis believes, the future of the American left is prefigured by Hayden's new political strategy, then the working class in America is in trouble.

—Ken Williams
President, SEIU 535
Santa Barbara Chapter

II

I'VE JUST COMPLETED JOHN JUDIS' "Perhaps a Great Nation," (ITT, May 9). Mostly, I found this probing and worthwhile, but it contained one major lapse in journalistic and political ethics.

Judis mentions an unnamed "political scientist" who claims Tom Hayden and other CED leaders are really disguised "Ho-ists" with a "private blueprint" for revolution. The implication being that Hayden et al. aren't really true democrats, and that their "economic democracy" is just a modern incarnation of the CP's "Popular Front." All this smacks of Rupert Murdoch style red-baiting. How can ITT print such unattributed accusations against a political brother? This perilous practice leaves all public activists open to unfair and maliciously intended attacks.

I've known Tom for a very long time and have the greatest respect for his sincerity and commitment to authentic democracy.

I hope this ITT slip from both grace and taste was accidental, unintended and that it will not be repeated.

—Stew Albert
Hurley, N.Y.

John Judis replies: My report that Hayden and some CED leaders might be adhering to a form of popular front politics (or "Ho-ism") was based on several close sources, in addition to the one Albert mentions. None were willing to be identified. I thought the information was reliable enough to cite as a possible interpretation. If it is true, it could shed light on Hayden's view of Brown, CED's electoral strategy, and the organization's future.

I didn't mean to imply that if Hayden were pursuing such a strategy he was being dishonest or undemocratic. I especially didn't want to imply that Hayden might be following the Communists' 1930s strategy, much less their goal of a "Soviet America." As far as I know, Hayden is committed to a democratic society. I regret that Albert drew any other inference from my report.

III

JOHN JUDIS' STORY ON CED IS A MODEL of how democratic socialists should cover the views and activities of left groups. He was complete in details, fair to the critics and supporters of the organization, and raised essential criticisms within the context of current American politics.

CED members may be walking a thin line between independent activism and becoming left apologists for Brownian motions; but at least they understand that politicians in this country are pressured by organized movements and not "correct lines" on a leaflet.

Keep on being the best weekly newspaper in the country.

—Michael Kazin
San Francisco

AN OPEN LETTER TO AFSCME

WE ARE MEMBERS OF SEVERAL AFSCME unions in California. We are committed to building our unions and defending them against attacks from our employers.

We are writing to ask your readers' support in protesting the firing of an effective and dedicated AFSCME International organizer, Jim Smith. He has been involved in organizing university and state workers for the past several years. The "crime" for which he was fired was testifying on behalf of a black organizer in a trial involving charges against an AFSCME local of lack of due process and discrimination. We believe he should have been commended, not fired.

Brother Smith has been well known in the labor movement here for his efforts in organizing the unorganized, strengthening affirmative action and supporting the underground South African Congress of Trade Unions. We believe his untiring commitment in support of labor's goals should serve as a model to union representatives everywhere. We therefore ask your readers to join us in sending messages of protest of this outrageous firing to President Jerry Wurf, AFSCME International, 1625 L St., NW, Washington, DC 20036. Please send us a copy in care of Anne Russell, 408 N. Ave. 65, Los Angeles, CA 90042.

—Ruth Loffin, Mary Tersigni,
Cynthia Brown, Local 909
—Anne Russell, Tim Farrell, Local 2620
—Dolores Vasquez-Ramos,
Carolyn Young, Local 1406

POLITICS, NOT ELECTIONS?

MICHAEL HARRINGTON'S ARTICLE IS a model of political rationality and moderation. I completely agree that socialists should vote for the "more liberal and humane candidate" in the 1980 elec-

tions. I further agree that we must be realistic and accept "some difficult limitations" in our strategy and tactics. And, should Harrington decide to run for the presidency as a socialist, he will have my vote.

The electoral solution, however, is a mirage and Harrington's article deals mostly with charity for the poor and unfortunate of this land and political expediency, glossing over the real issues. We are not talking about Europe or South America with their massive lefts and traditional anti-rich attitudes on the part of the electorates. The American electorate is politically illiterate as it comprises a voting minority coalition of dominant WASPS and predominant average-whites, all under the banner of Middleclassdom.

The idea of the citizen has surreptitiously been replaced with that of the taxpayer, tilting the electoral processes in favor of property owners, against the poor and reinforcing the unconstitutional axiom of no representation without taxation. As the current business-as-usual Congress and the rulings of Nixon's Court prove, we are in the middle of a wave of reaction.

Every socialist in America yearns for legitimacy and respectability. But we can't let the sincerity of our purpose lead us astray or our sense of decency and compassion contribute to the basic injustices inherent to corporate capitalism by playing the game. Elections in the U.S. don't have to be rigged because the electoral system and its processes themselves are rigged! I endorse socialist candidacies for their educational value only.

Finally, I believe the fundamental task of revolutionary socialism are the political destruction of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of democratic socialist republics, in place of the existing liberal democracies tottering atop corporate capitalism. This is the praxis, the rest is rhetoric.

—Art Liebrez
Sepulveda, Cal.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MAY 6 COALITION

LESBIANS AND GAY MEN ARE DISTURBED by certain incidents and aspects of the May 6 demonstration in D.C.

There were numerous lesbians and gay contingents at the march, yet not one lesbian or gay man spoke at the rally. Nor were gay people allowed to speak for themselves when we were physically and verbally assaulted by a gang of straight hoodlums.

The delegation I was in, consisting of gay men from D.C., Philadelphia and New York City, carried a banner that said: "Gay men against nuclear power, weapons and families." We also carried signs saying "Faggots against fission." Our banner was ripped in half by that straight gang; we were insulted, harassed, and finally assaulted.

We defended ourselves and pinned the main antagonist down until the cops took him away. But no "liberated" straight men came to our aid; only gay men and lesbian and straight women. One man even interfered in our self-protection (a man wearing an anti-nuke button) and accused us of being "a gay lynch mob." Blood was drawn from us by them; we drew no blood from them. Must we still blame the victims?

Three of us approached the podium and asked to speak. We were denied because of previous scheduling. We wanted two minutes—even one!—to touch on these points:

1) Lesbians and gay men are not just ballast for coalitions. We were in D.C. in force and deserved our own voice.

2) We were mugged. There was a clear and present danger to lesbians and gay men in the crowd: important info to share.

3) It was a good opportunity for a mass of straight people to have their consciousness raised about the everyday brutality lesbians and gay men suffer and fight.

It is crucial that we speak for ourselves. It involved three of us in a struggle at the podium merely to get our mes-

sage passed to a speaker. Jane Fonda may be a famous actress, and we admire her sincerely, but she does not and cannot know what we know. It is crucial that we speak, be seen, identified; and acknowledged.

5) One speaker said, "Against the power of nuclear weapons and power we can bring the power of the nuclear family." Another speaker said that sexism and racism are issues that come second to dealing with nukes. We have things of our own to say about nuclear families.

All of that could have been said in two minutes.

The gay media is being informed; of course, and you may expect other letters to come in. The very least we expect is an assurance that we will have a voice of our own in the future. Were we simply forgotten?

—Scott Tucker
Philadelphia

NOT BIASED

CLAUDE CAZZULINO (LETTERS, ITT, Mar. 21) complains of my "anti-German bias" and I feel like replying.

Of course I know quite well that the ordinary German word for worker is "arbeiter," which is why I have been struck, in reading the German press, by the extent to which the terms "arbeitnehmer" and "arbeitsgeber" have invaded journalistic prose dealing with labor disputes. Cazzulino's statement that "the two words are highly technical and rarely found in everyday spoken German, much less the press" is simply inaccurate. The significance of such terminology is, of course, disputable. I think such details, however subtle, are interesting in suggesting the whole complex of historical and cultural factors involved in political differences between countries.

My view of Germany mainly derives from having lived there for five years. This experience gave me a critical attitude towards certain aspects of German conformism shared by many Europeans who know Germany first-hand—and most of all by sensitive Germans themselves, who are far more critical of German society than I am. To call this critical attitude an "anti-German bias" seems similar to calling the American left "anti-American" because it reflects a minority view. Personally, I am "anti" some things and "pro" others in any country.

—Diana Johnstone
Paris

THE VIEW FROM THE SEMINAR

THE CHILIASTIC RHETORIC OF ALLAN Keith (ITT, May 16) is not especially helpful in these times. The seminar view of history that says that things collapse of their own weight and new things arise out of the rubble of the old is, (a) unrealistic and (b) inhuman. I do not argue with Keith's point that liberal programs "serve to postpone the inevitable demise of capitalism." I do argue with Keith's point, however, that we socialists, for the sake of ideological purity, should "allow capitalism to stand on its own two feet and fall of its own weight!"

When capitalism falls (and pieces have already fallen), it falls on people. Perhaps it is because I live too close to the ones whose dreams and spirit have been crushed by capitalism's failures, to withhold from them the liberal social programs that have given a certain measure of security in the chaos of poverty.

WPA put my Irish working-class family back on its feet two generations ago. I suppose that Keith would rather that we lived in poverty another generation so that the apocalypse would have come sooner and things would have been purer for the intellectuals. Ideological purity, like capitalism itself, is fashioned on the backs of the poor. There is a distinction to be made between those who watch history and those who participate in it. For the latter, things are more ambiguous than for the former.

—James R. Gorman
Chicago

ROBERTA LYNCH

Times are changing: Middle classes joining the ranks of the poor

SHE IS A SECRETARY. HER husband is a butcher. They've been married for several years, have no children, and work full time. They live in a small suburban apartment in a large metropolitan area. And they are, in her own words, "practically poor." "I don't mean

to equate the situation of this young couple, who get to take annual vacations at a Michigan lake, with that of a welfare mother who can't afford to go across town. But there is something changing in America today. This sense of "practical" poverty is affecting a growing number of people who have long considered themselves "middle income."

The secretary enumerates her May expenses. They're not unusual: rent, groceries, phone, a crib for a baby that's on the way. At the end of the list there's no money left. Two salaries gone. "And," she concludes, looking down at her feet, "this is my only pair of shoes."

Only one pair of shoes. That's no sign of deprivation. But it does say something about how the pervasive promise of a consumer paradise is beginning to come up against the bedrock reality of inflation.

It is a clash with potentially momentous implications. More than almost any other single factor, the American dream has been defined by the assumption of a



steadily rising standard of living. It was a prosperity measured not just by economic indicators or the extravagances available to the wealthy, but most basically by the increased buying power of the working majority.

And it really did work for some of the people for some of the time. First there was the home and then the home in the nicer neighborhood and the car and then the "second" car and the air conditioner and then the central air conditioning.

And all the while there was Madison Avenue, holding out the promise of bigger and better things to come. Work a little harder, borrow a little more, and you too can chop your cucumbers in a Cuisinart, wear a fur coat, and vacation in the Bahamas.

And if most people never really got to live out the ad man's fantasy, many working Americans did find themselves in a

consumer never-never land in which you stay forever solvent.

The young cop who could give his wife a car and a coat for Christmas. The steelworker who owns a motorboat. The secretary who would shop at Lord & Taylor. They didn't have it made, but it's easy to see why in some ways people felt that they'd made it.

It wasn't all an illusion, either. But it did rest on a shaky foundation, namely the preeminence of American imperialism around the globe. As international realities changed, the repercussions rapidly made their way back to the gasoline tanks of America.

Although our country's standard of living has not significantly declined, it is no longer steadily progressing on the presumed trajectory of growing affluence that has shaped our nation's self-image.

As more and more people find themselves faced with the reality of their situation, behind the power lawn mower and the power toothbrushes, they suddenly do feel "practically poor."

For one thing, they are in debt. Outstanding consumer installment debt is now at nearly 18 percent of disposable income, the highest ever. People may be living okay, but they are living (literally) on borrowed time.

A second and related factor is that most people are living at the edge of poverty in a sense. They have no savings. Thirty-seven percent of American households have no money in the bank at all. And another 16 percent have under \$500. Unemployment is particularly devastating in such a situation.

Moreover, people are working very hard for what they have. Auto workers, steelworkers, phone installers—they all tell the same story: everybody works overtime; it's the only way to make it. And the household that once progressed on one income is probably now just getting by on two: over 50 percent of the women in families work outside the home today.

Finally, there is the increasing cost of the necessities of life. New housing is fast becoming a luxury item, with the average cost of a new home in Chicago now topping \$80,000. Gasoline in my city (Chicago) is nearing \$1 a gallon. Food prices

continue to rise; beef is expected to go up 25 percent between the time I write this and you read it.

The simple fact is that many necessities now cost more than the "luxuries." You can probably get yourself lined up in front of a slot machine in Vegas a lot cheaper than you can get your kid's dental work done these days.

This isn't a depression. Insinuations of prosperity still abound. The stores are crowded with merchandise, cash registers are still ringing, people are still buying.

But there is a difference. People are more worried, more dogged by financial problems, more fearful of the future.

It is a mood that produces a large political question mark. Undoubtedly Proposition 13, the California property tax cutting measure, was the first line of reaction to the changing economic climate. But the expected rash of Prop 13-type movements around the country has not yet materialized in any dramatic or potent manner.

It's possible that people will continue to cling to the hope that the government can turn back the hands of time to a simpler—and more prosperous—era by trying to "reduce itself." This narrow focus on cutting government spending risks being like the fat man who goes on a crash diet only to discover he's lost all the weight at his ankles and can no longer support himself.

But there's also a possibility that a new focus can emerge—one that recognizes the need to increase taxes on corporations—or at least to get them to pay what they already owe—rather than cutting necessary services. Such a perspective is vital since it represents an opening wedge in the enormous battle to challenge the immunity of corporate decisions from public deliberation.

The fight against inflation can't be won as long as it is waged against an ephemeral enemy. The real battle is against unchecked corporate power. And the real question is whether the practically poor will take up that fight. ■

Roberta Lynch is a national officer of the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization.

BOOKS

A new history of Jewish Americans and the left

JEWS AND THE LEFT

By Arthur Liebman
John Wiley & Sons, N.Y., 1979, \$17.95

By Fred Siegel

The relationship between Jews and the left has often been a source of acute embarrassment for socialist militants. The disproportionate representation of Jews in leftist movements created problems for socialists who saw themselves as having a class rather than ethnic appeal. A great deal of the history of the American Communist Party can, after all, be characterized as a Jewish search for Christians, particularly Christians in heavy industry.

Leon Trotsky was so upset by the preponderance of Jewish intellectuals in his movement that at the same time he was being reviled as a "bourgeois intellectual" by CP officialdom he himself urged that "it was absolutely necessary in order to cleanse the atmosphere of the party, that Jewish petit-bourgeois elements of the New York local be shifted from their habitual conservative milieu and dissolved into the real labor movement."

Similarly, during the late 1920s, the American CP, unwilling to reconcile itself to the seemingly inalienable foreignness of its membership, sought to discover that "real labor movement" through its drive for Bolshevization. By "real" it meant not in the needle trades and not Jewish. But like Shigalov, one of Dostoevsky's mad ideologists who inexorably followed the logic of his argument until it produced the opposite of what was desired, the party discovered that its campaign for Bolshevization drove so many Christian (generally foreign born) workers from the Party that at the end of the

drive the percentage of Jews was higher than at the start.

"Stuck with the Jews" would have been an appropriate subtitle for much of Arthur Liebman's massive book, *Jews and the Left*, a sprawling labor of love born of the author's own intense involvement as a committed leftist who is also a Jew. The book, which alternates between historical narrative and sociological analysis, is a treasure house of quotes and information. Beginning with the common origins of Jewish socialism and Zionism as a way out from under the Russian knout, he presents a broad picture of Jews and the American left from Henry George's race for mayor of New York in 1886 to the present.

Liebman begins by suggesting that neither anti-Semitism nor Jewish self-hatred, nor the values of Jews and their prophetic tradition, can fully explain the Jewish identification with the left. Curiously mixing periods and problems with sociological aplomb, he finally and justifiably notes that anti-Semitism doesn't explain why some Jews became socialists rather than Zionists, albeit there was often a goodly mix of the two.

As for Jewish self hatred as a source of identification with socialist universalism, he asks how such an argument can account for Jews like Moses Hess, the Red Rabbi who converted Engels to socialism and was the founder of modern Zionism, or Leon Blum, not to mention the leaders of the Jewish Bund in Russia.

Finally, despite the, at times, widespread belief in socialism as secularized Judaism, he points to the strong and often overlooked conservative strain in Jewish ideals, the emphasis on tradition, family and moral order. The key then, he ar-

gues, to the long-term relationship between Jews and the left "lies in the class-linked socialist sub-culture" that was germinated in Russia by the Bund and transported to the fabled Lower East Side of New York. About a third of his 600 pages is devoted to a very competent and generally unexceptionable account of how that subculture, symbolized by names like Dubinsky, Cahan, Gold, and Olgin, was, at least through the '20s, able to maintain union and socialist ideals despite the highly competitive nature of the needle trades and the rapid upward mobility of Jews.

The book has some glaring problems. His account of the 1926 garment strike that split the community into warring socialist and communist camps, and whose reverberations are still felt today, will have historians tearing their hair out of their heads, and Yiddishists point to errors of fact and nuance. But I can leave it to the reviewer from *Commentary* to elaborate on these flaws. For, despite its problems, this is an immensely valuable book for the way it uncovers the cycle of relationships between the Jewish community and the left, a cycle which his evidence suggests was more the product of left policy than Jewish social conditions.

When left parties like the early 20th century socialists or the Communists of the popular front paid heed to Jewish issues the "Jewish following" multiplied. But when, for reasons of principle or policy, they ignored or slighted the pressing needs of Jews, working class or not, and they seemed to have found numerous instances to do so, the outcome was the same: Masses of Jews rejected the left. Thus the Hitler-Stalin pact and Norman Thomas' opposition to the war against

fascism produced similar results.

On the other hand, as Liebman demonstrates at length, when Jewish socialists became embroiled largely in Jewish matters, their politics took on a reformist and communal tone incompatible with militancy. Unable to resolve this trying dilemma, Liebman ends with an epilogue rather than a conclusion.

The epilogue blunts Liebman's own finding, in his chapter on the New Left, that it is increasingly difficult to be both a Jew and a leftist. Where once the relationship seemed quite natural there is today an, at times, barely disguised hostility between the left and the Jewish community at large. As disillusionment passed into disillusionment—the Slansky trials, the revelations about Soviet anti-Semitism—the, at times, rapturous accounts of PLO terror following the '67 Arab-Israeli war and the rhetoric of black militants may have delivered the final blows.

Even for many Jewish veterans of '60s radicalism, the very concept of the left has lost its luster. At the same time, a brisk business in revisionist history has grown up with analyses of the all too real anti-Semitism of prominent radicals like Proudhon and Bakunin, along with strained accounts of how the Lower East Side wasn't really all that socialist.

Jewish liberalism and radicalism, at times enemies, at times allies, now seemed locked into opposition. There will be some, of course, convinced that liberals are the main enemy, who will welcome this, but then again they were the same people who thought the New Left had put us on the road to revolution. ■

Fred Siegel is at the Center for Labor Studies, Empire State College, SUNY, New York City.

DIALOG

SALT treaty "regulates" but does not stop nuclear escalation

By Patrick Lacefield

HARRY BOYTE (ITT, APR. 4) URGES THOSE OF US ON THE left to rally round the Carter administration and support the SALT II treaty. As one deeply involved with the disarmament movement, I feel compelled to respond with a different point of view. If, as Boyte asserts, SALT II is to be the symbol of arms control in the coming period, we can only wonder at how discredited the concept, "arms control," has become. Far from the modest limitations SALT II supporters claim the treaty will place on the arms race, a closer examination reveals that the treaty is entirely compatible with the military programs of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

President Carter and Secretary of Defense Harold Brown have emphasized this point again and again in wooing conservative support for the treaty.

Lowering the permissible numbers of strategic nuclear launchers for each side from 2,400 to 2,250 is insignificant, as is the argument that SALT II would force the Soviet Union to destroy several hundred launch vehicles since those destroyed would be outmoded systems of little use anyway.

The idea that numerical limits will slow the arms race reflects a misunderstanding of the situation. The name of the arms race game in the late '70s and early '80s is now and will be quality not quantity as evidenced by U.S. strategic emphasis on accuracy and invulnerability and the destruction of hundreds of old missiles in the past six years.

It is simply not true that SALT II mandates nothing in the way of arms increases. Under the proposed treaty the U.S. would increase its total number of deliverable warheads from 9,500 at present to nearly 14,000, excluding the deployment of air-launched cruise missiles. The Soviet Union would double its deliverable arsenal from 4,000 to 8,000. To assert that nothing in SALT requires either nation to build up to the maximum allowable limits or develop new weapons technology is to overlook what happened under SALT I and what can only be described as serious flaws in the SALT process itself.

SALT I opened wide the sluice gates (through treaty loopholes) for the U.S.

to develop multiple independently targetable warheads (MIRVs), cruise missiles, and the Trident submarine and for the Soviets to deploy their SS-16s, 18s and 20s, and for both sides to double their arsenals of deliverable warheads. Research and development went on unabated under SALT I.

Inherent flaws in the SALT process itself render it an inappropriate vehicle for pursuing even "arms control," let alone disarmament. The SALT process encourages nations to build right up to permissible limits. It promotes the development of weapons systems as bargaining chips (e.g., the cruise missile); it is entirely compatible with the military programs of both major nuclear powers; it exacerbates an already excessive military influence in arms control negotiations; it fails to retard weapons research and development and the technological escalation of the arms race.

As prominent Swedish socialist and disarmament activist Alva Myrdal points out in *The Game of Disarmament: How the United States and Russia Run the Arms Race*, both major powers have shunned multilateral forums in favor of bilateral negotiations, that result not in disarmament but rather in a "controlled" escalation of the arms race.

This was vividly demonstrated last summer when the U.S. and the Soviet Union closed ranks at the UN Special Session on Disarmament to stonewall demands by the nonaligned nations for substantive progress toward arms reductions, a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, and a reallocation of funds spent on weaponry to Third World development.

To insist that a SALT III round of talks will bring about genuine arms reductions, as does the Carter administration and Harry Boyte, is to forget that originally SALT II was cast for that role. The Carter administration demonstrated in April 1977 that its interest in "deep cuts" in nuclear arms extends only to those proposals under which unilateral advantage would accrue to the U.S. Little wonder that this early Carter foray into disarmament was hailed by Henry Jackson and his hawkish colleagues. It was, indeed, a proposal born to lose.

In examining the SALT II controversy, one cannot easily pass over administration hypocrisy. Carter, on the one hand, is courting the conservatives by urging them to examine the entire picture—not only SALT but also the \$12 billion Pentagon spending hike, go-ahead on nerve gas and neutron bomb component deployment, supplemental appropriations for the mobile MX missile and much more.

On the other hand, Carter winks to the left, telling us to focus only on SALT and not tie it to the larger picture. This cynicism is further illustrated by the administration's assertion that without SALT, defense spending will rise \$100 billion over the next seven years—a figure that averages out to be only slightly more than this year's proposed military budget increase.

Obviously, if SALT is defeated, it will not be from left-wing opposition, but from conservative and neo-Cold War liberal forces who perceive a lack of American "willpower," yearn for those halcyon days of American world domination, and feel no compunction about using SALT as an ideological weapon against the Soviets.

Opposing SALT from the left, however, does not imply making common cause with these forces, but rather flows from an analysis of SALT II and the SALT process as an institutionalization of the arms race. Even Carter in recent days

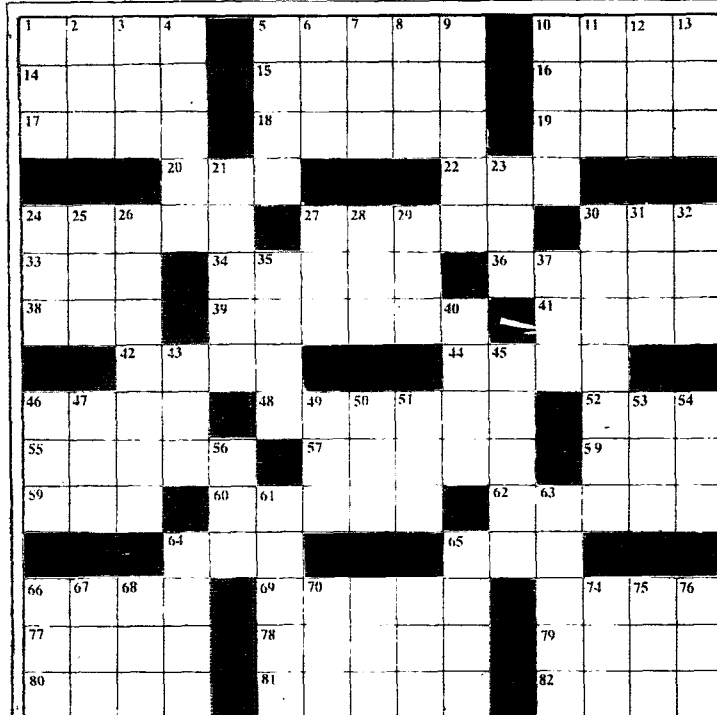
has abandoned the argument that SALT impacts on the arms race in any significant way, preferring instead to emphasize the alleged apocalyptic results of a rejection of SALT on U.S.-Soviet relations.

The peace movement can ill afford, politically or morally, to hitch its wagon to SALT's controlled escalation. Based on commitments given by Carter and Secretary Brown, it appears that the MX mobile missile will be the price tag for moderate support of the treaty. Can the peace movement countenance that prospect? Supporting SALT II will not aid in building a mass disarmament movement in this country. Indeed, it will discredit the peace movement and call into question its commitment to genuine disarmament.

Far from the unanimity that Boyte claims for support of SALT on the left, the movement has split over the question. The Mobilization for Survival, the national disarmament coalition, has taken no position on the treaty because of disagreement within its ranks. Three major peace organizations—the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters League and Pax Christi—have announced against the treaty and even those groups on the left endorsing SALT have done so with such reservations as to damn it with faint praise.

The 1980s do require a movement capable of jousting with a recrudescing right-wing militarism in the defense and foreign policy fields. Such a movement, however, can hardly be served by endorsement of the SALT process and a qualitative escalation of the arms race. Is it strange to suggest that we in the disarmament movement must draw the line at refusing to support arms escalation and instead focus grassroots energy on calling for genuine arms reductions?

Patrick Lacefield is on the national executive committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and active in the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.



Leaders

By David Mermelstein

ACROSS

- 1 Encourage
- 5 Get lost!
- 10 Chinese leader
- 14 Prima donna
- 15 Japanese leader
- 16 N.Y. canal
- 17 Plant part
- 18 Prohibit
- 19 Like an elongated fish
- 20 Golf org.
- 22 Writer Fleming
- 24 Allegro
- 27 Former Guyanan leader
- 30 Idle talk
- 33 Spasm
- 34 Chip: Br. dialect
- 36 Bread unit
- 38 Tree
- 39 Jamaican leader
- 41 Tennis pro
- 42 Othello, for one
- 44 vesicle
- 46 the bottle
- 48 Cuban leader
- 52 Swiss river
- 55 Burdened

DOWN

- 1 Found in a newspaper
- 2 Drill accessory
- 3 Dec. 24 or 31
- 4 City in Florida
- 5 Water or pop
- 6 Cuban martyr
- 7 Josh
- 8 Football coach, _____ Passegian
- 9 West Side Story woman
- 10 Suffix for six or seven
- 11 Before
- 12 Naught
- 13 Considerable: Scot.
- 21 Thing
- 23 Response to ques.
- 24 loss for words
- 25 Family member
- 26 German leader
- 27 Smuts or Hus
- 28 "...and justice for ..."
- 29 Horse command
- 30 French leader
- 31 German exclamation
- 32 Singer
- 35 French garden spot
- 37 Chou En-
- 40 Bygone days
- 43 "___ potato, two..."
- 45 Tomorrow, yesterday
- 46 Patty's abductors: Abbr.
- 47 One less than bogie
- 49 Mimic
- 50 Convened
- 51 Malay corn
- 53 Lincoln or Reame
- 54 Disencumber
- 56 Highest degree
- 61 Door clasps
- 63 Restrained
- 64 Picnic pests
- 65 Cooper's tool
- 66 "In ___ beginning..."
- 67 See 10 Across
- 68 Connects with the BMT or IND
- 70 Fashion
- 71 "We ___ the hollow men..."
- 72 Radical
- 74 Irish org.
- 75 Touch lightly
- 76 Precursor of CIA

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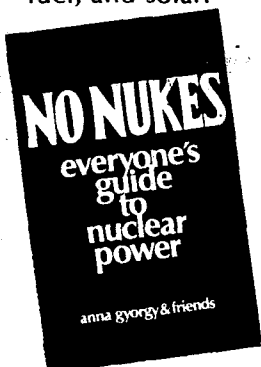
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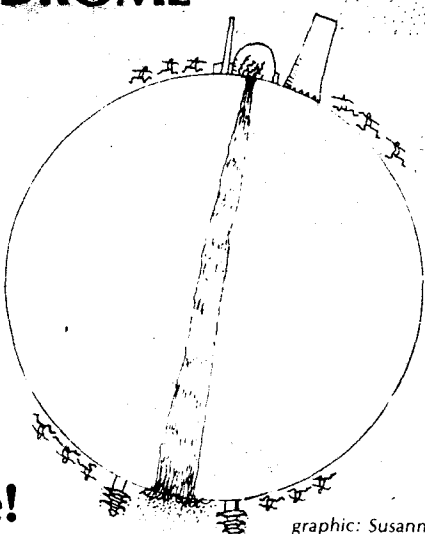
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BOSTON



graphic: Susanna Natti

Torture

Continued from page 11.

tyred country. The population of Prey Veng at the time of the defeat of the Lon Nol regime (April 17, 1975) was 857,336, today it is 446,356, with about three quarters of the adult population widows. In most cases investigated, sons over 12 years of age were drafted into the Pol Pot forces were killed with their fathers. In Kompong Speu, comparative figures were approximately 250,000 before and 150,000 today.

Each of these provincial capitals had its torture chambers where, as in Phnom Penh, victims were executed after the maximum of information that could lead to further arrests had been extracted.

At Prey Veng, there was a further execution ground behind the city's main pagoda, where the ground was littered with skulls and scores of shallow graves. An eyewitness of the early stages said the Bonzes were led away for "hard labor" and were never seen again and the main pagoda was turned into a pig-sty. The Bonzes' living quarters were turned into torture chambers, the victims later being led out behind the main pagoda, their hands tied behind their backs, forced to kneel down while the back of their heads or necks were bashed with iron bars or lengths of bamboo. The next batch of victims had to carry them off, dig the graves and throw them in before suffering the same fate.

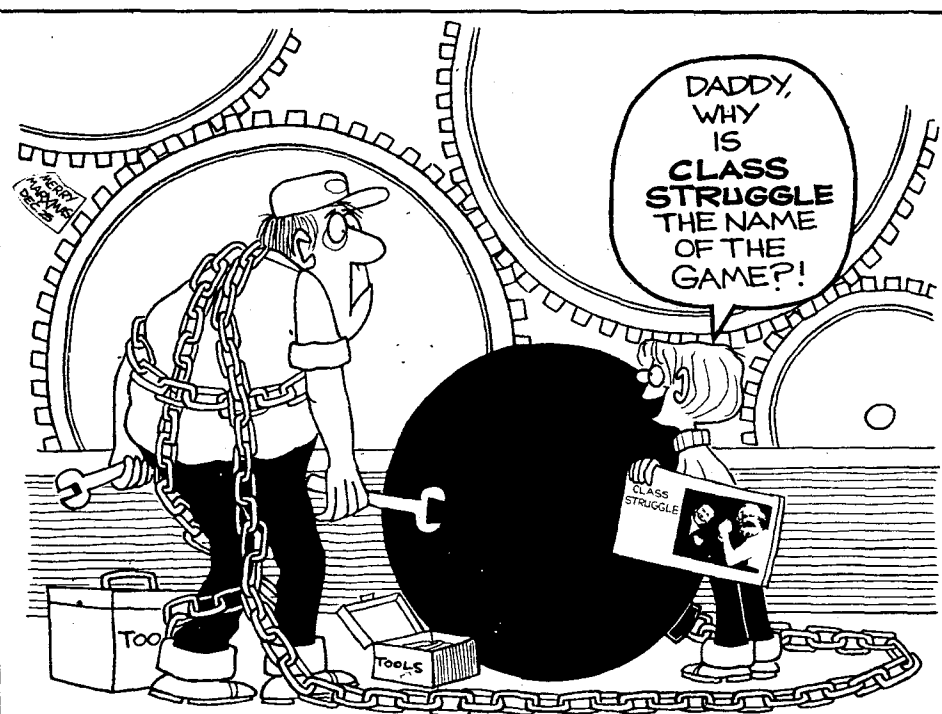
The main torture center in Prey Veng itself was in a former brothel, which, under the Lon Nol regime was camouflaged as a "tailoring establishment." Girls who attracted customers' eyes were transferred to a special room, from which they never reappeared. When they became too disease ridden, they were disposed of. In front of each of 12 torture cells were 15 inch squares cut into flat concrete slabs covering an underground water channel. Bodies of the victims were dropped through these squares. Their skulls and bits of skeletons are clearly visible.

Explaining why only a couple of thousand Prey Veng residents had been allowed back into what was a very pleasant little town—its broad streets lined with flame trees in full bloom at the moment—Sarin, deputy chairman of the town's People's Administrative Committee, explained that apart from the near total destruction of housing, there were mines laid all over the place "which our Vietnamese friends are helping to locate and defuse." Providing the returnees with food and jobs was another major problem.

"When we came in and looked around we found nothing. For the first seven days we found nothing—no rice stocks, no clothes. People kept coming back, but we had to tell them to stay in the outskirts. Then the center sent us some fast-growing seed rice and we got people working. Meanwhile they ate bananas and manioc (cassava)."

The rest was a mild success story. In the nearby hamlet of Cheung Teuk, peasants were already reaping rice sown after the hamlet's liberation on January 7. It was a special variety of "three months" rice sent in from Vietnam. Preparations were being made to cultivate another 550 acres of "six months" rice as soon as the rains start at the beginning of June.

In a "hospital" in the outskirts of Kompong Speu—a former pleasant provincial capital of about 10,000 people, now totally destroyed—there were problems of a different kind. About half of the 85 inpatients were suffering from wounds inflicted by Pol Pot guerrilla bands wandering in the Elephant mountains and shooting at any who tried to flee their control. With 7750 outpatients to care for, there was not a single doctor, little medicine or food. Patients lay mainly on the floors, with no facilities to isolate contagious cases. Original residents of Kompong Speu, reinforced by the "mountain people" compete for trees under which to camp or whatever shelters that can be put together from debris. With the clouds gathering ominously for the start of the rainy season within a week or two, the situation is grim indeed. And it is difficult to see how even international aid could be distributed in time where it is most needed.



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»SPORTSCENE«

WOMEN'S BASKETBALL

Women learn quickly in co-ed class

By Anita Diamant

"A basketball course?" asked my friend John, the diehard. "Why take a class? Why not just go out and play?" John plays basketball every other day at the YMCA, in a fast, rough, competitive game.

But there weren't any pick-up games in town for me to go to. My only experience of playing basketball was the dreadful six-girl-only, take-three-dribbles and stand-still-a-lot variety in junior high school. Watching professional and college basketball on television and in the stands had intimidated me as much as it had inspired me.

Finally, fed up with winter inactivity and curious about the exact meaning of "the weak side," I signed up for a ten-week class in the basics. The Cambridge Center for Adult Education has been offering "Basketball for Beginners" for five years now, to co-ed groups of 12 people at a time. There were seven women and five men in my class. We ranged in age from 20 to 40 and we were all in need of training.

"I was surprised that there would be men in the class," said Suzanne Knight, a 30-year-old high school teacher. "I thought all men would have the experience of playing, like most women don't have the experience."

Lack of experience—especially in team sports—was the common denominator that levelled the differences between the women and the men, two of whom were over six feet tall. "I was surprised that the men were as klutzy as me," said Suzanne, who claimed she was undaunted by the presence of men on the court. "The men had the advantage of being taller, but the women were more agile."

Suzanne Knight had visions of slam-dunking the ball like the Celtics.

"I wanted to see if I could do it and what it would feel like."

Fear wasn't an issue for any of the women in class. Suzanne even pushed a little to check out the limits of sexism in sport. "Lots of times, I'd put off blocks to see if they'd bounce me off. Two of the men avoided me rather than run into me the way they should have."

Chris Kelleher, one of the students, agreed that the co-ed structure of the class was an asset. "Perhaps if it was all men, it would be more competitive," he said. "But since there are more women than men, it works out nicely. What I love about this class, though, is that everyone tries really hard. But we don't keep score and when someone on the other team makes a basket, you're just as happy."

Mark Goldberg, a 29-year-old mild-mannered "tax practitioner" by day, began the Cambridge Center's basketball and softball classes and also coaches high school soccer. "You can't learn if you're competing," he explained, "so we don't keep score. In the advanced class, we keep score toward the end of the session and then I use competition to teach lessons, to show them how if you



Mark Goldberg, who runs "Basketball for Beginners," teaches a co-ed class at the Cambridge Center for Adult Education.

lose cooperation on the team, you lose control of your skills on the court."

No one taught Goldberg how to play basketball, which is part of his motivation for teaching sports now. As a senior in college, Goldberg started watching basketball on television and in the spring taught himself how to play. Now, he says, "for a 5'7" player, I'm good."

Goldberg finds it easier to teach women to play. "The women come and say, 'I can't play: Teach me.' Many men resist learning. I had one guy who was

energetic and excited and listened to me for three weeks. Then he learned to do a lay-up and that was it."

Basketball for Beginners was a remedial tonic for most of the men in the class who had somehow gotten left out of the jock fraternity. While Chris Kelleher is still more interested in dancing than in sports, the course meant a lot to him. "I like interacting on a team. Each new thing you learn makes you more sure of yourself."

Suzanne Knight started the class with a different goal in mind.

"I had visions of myself slam-dunking the ball, like the Celtics. I wanted to see if I could do it and what it would feel like."

"I'm surprised at how hard it is to learn hand-eye coordination," said Suzanne. "I'll probably never achieve my slam-dunking goal."

Like the rest of the women in the class, Suzanne was acutely aware of opportunities missed: "I envy the high school girls today who are able to compete in team sports. I'd have loved to. It's hard to get good when you're older."

COLLEGE SCHOLARSHIP

Athletes not educated

At Fordham, scholarship athletes were enrolled in the evening school, with little hope of diplomas.

By Mark Naison

Until recently, the educational neglect of scholarship athletes has been one of the worst kept secrets in American sports. Now something is being done about it.

Seven black athletes at Cal State, Los Angeles, have filed a \$14 million lawsuit charging their scholarships were a fraud. An NBC documentary on April 29 (see *ITT* review, May 23) touched on problems of athletes who never receive degrees. And congressional hearings on abuses in college sports are now likely.

For the past year, I have been involved at Fordham in a campaign to insure that all recruited athletes graduate, and that academically marginal athletes get remedial education.

In November 1977, a black student on the football team complained to me that most of the team's black players were students in the evening school, which at Fordham has a normal graduation period of six years. They had been brought in the year before as junior college transfers, in an effort to upgrade the football program, but they felt alienated from fellow players and confused about their academic future. He asked if I could intervene to get them transferred to Fordham College. Though many athletes in my classes had severe academic difficulties, I had never heard of athletes being brought into the evening school, which circumvents admission standards.

Fordham's president told me that a vice-president had taken the action without his approval,

and that he was as upset as I was. He had just prohibited further use of the evening school for athletes' admission, and was expediting the transfer of the present group to Fordham College.

Emboldened by his attitude, I sent him a memorandum criticizing the poor academic counseling of athletes and asking to be appointed to the school's athletic governing board. I also sounded out faculty members, deans, students and admissions personnel as to whether they would join me in monitoring the athletic department to protect athletes' educational rights.

The vice president in charge of athletics resigned under pressure. The football program was de-emphasized, and a new basketball staff was hired with a mandate to turn Fordham into a national

basketball power. An athletic academic advisory committee was set up, consisting of coaches, faculty and administrators, and the dean appointed me as one of the two faculty members on it.

At the first meeting, I described the problems Fordham would have in reconciling national prominence in a sport with the academic standards of the school. In later meetings, my memoranda analyzed recruiting and admissions policy, the relationship between coaches and teachers of their players (preferably none), and the organization and funding of tutoring and remedial programs. My colleagues appointed me chair of the committee.

I wanted the school to set minimum admissions standards for athletes that were comparable to those used for "disadvantaged students," and to invest in summer courses and professional tutors so the coaching staff would not have to "help" by pressuring teachers. While the coaches agreed to this in principle, they nevertheless continued to recruit athletes who couldn't perform the work. In one instance, they mildly pressured a young teacher who was giving a basketball star failing grades.

I pressed for a formal statement—endorsed by the president, deans and athletic staff—that defined policy on recruiting, admissions standards, and academic services for athletes, and set up procedures for evaluation and enforcement.

After five months of negotiating, we established minimum admissions standards for basketball players who came from poor families (700 combined SATs, 350 verbal, 75-80 average); funded an extensive array of tutorial and remedial services, and prohibited coaches from directly contacting teachers or the admissions office. We established a joint faculty-administration committee to supervise the new program and to review annually the admissions standards. I was appointed to it.

The Fordham model would probably not work at state universities where sports programs generate enormous revenues and are important as popular entertainment. But at schools where intercollegiate sports play a less dominant role, faculty members with deans, admissions officers and organized minority students can make headway to insure that athletes get the educational opportunities they are promised.

ART & ENTERTAINMENT



MOVIES

Woody Allen's last tango in Manhattan

By John Judis

Besides being a filmmaker and a stand-up comic, Woody Allen is a moralist and a street-corner philosopher.

His moral philosophy combines an immigrant emphasis on family and community—the product of Allen's Brooklyn boyhood—with the non-conformist outlook of '50s intellectuals. It combines an emphasis on personal morality with a Freudian view of human nature and an existential obsession with death. It includes loyalty to one's immediate circle, whether of family or fellow intellectuals, and contempt for the rat race, squares and phonies. His respect for marriage and the family coexists with a conviction that only the life of the independent artist is worth living.

This outlook has been held, with some variations, by Lenny Bruce, Mort Sahl, Joseph Heller, Norman Mailer, Allen Ginsburg, and Paul Goodman—by a generation of Jewish anti-establishment intellectuals. In Allen's films, it has furnished the perspective from which he has mercilessly dissected the fads and pretensions of the '60s and '70s, from the self-confident, aggressive male lover of *Play It Again Sam* to the life-style revolutionaries of *Bananas*

and the "beautiful people" of *Annie Hall*.

But it has also encouraged him to ignore or to dismiss the world outside the psyche, the family and the artistic community. In *Sleeper*, Allen has Myles conclude that "nothing is real except sex and death." In *Interiors*, there is simply no exterior that impinges on the characters' lives.

Allen's latest film, *Manhattan*, is his most successful to date. Unlike *Interiors*, it has both wit and drama. In it, he has largely abandoned the solipsistic world of the madcap comedies in which characters and events were merely foils for his humor. *Manhattan* is a bittersweet comic drama in which moral conflicts are expressed through the characters rather than at their expense.

Filmed in black-and-white with George Gershwin's music, *Manhattan* contrasts the simple optimism of "Our Love Is Here to Stay" or the romantic conviction of "Embraceable You" with the tangled affairs of Upper East Side Manhattanites. Relying on character rather than caricature, Allen depicts the way they avoid their social and artistic responsibilities. He shifts his focus from gross affectation to the subtleties of self-delusion and selfishness.

But *Manhattan* also expresses the same moral philosophy as his

earlier movies, and it falls prey to the same limitations.

Manhattan as community.

The characters in *Manhattan* inhabit a community, but it is not defined by neighborhood and family ties. They construct a community out of shared tastes, places to go, vocations and intellectual interests. They eat at Elaine's; they go to therapists; they are writers, professors and entertainers by trade; they attend art museum and foreign film openings together; and they set themselves off from others by their intelligence, good taste, and intellectual integrity.

Woody Allen plays Isaac Davis, a 42-year-old successful TV comedy writer, who has gone through two marriages. His second wife, who left him for another woman, is writing an expose of their marriage. He is anti-TV, anti-beautiful people and serious about work, love and art. In spite of two failed marriages, he thinks that "people should mate for life like pigeons and Catholics."

Isaac quits his TV job in order to devote full time to a serious novel about Manhattan. And he begins dating Tracy (Mariel Hemingway), a poised and beautiful 17-year-old high school student who wants to be an actress.

"You're just a kid," Isaac tells Tracy. "You should think of me as a detour on the highway of life."

Isaac's best friend, Yale (Michael Murphy) is a college professor who, like Isaac, is undergoing a Manhattan-style mid-life crisis. He can't finish a long-begun book on Eugene O'Neill. He balks at his wife's desire to have kids and move to Connecticut and instead pursues Mary Wilke (Diane Keaton), a trendy neurotic journalist he meets at a cocktail party.

When a guilty Yale finally decides to break off with Mary, Isaac, attracted to neurotic women, begins seeing her. Over an ice cream soda, he tells a tearful Tracy that he has fallen in love with someone else.

But Yale cannot forget Mary, and with his prodding, she decides that she still loves him. Isaac is left angry and forlorn. As he muses the meaning of life, he realizes that Tracy was more than just a kid and makes a last mad dash for her love.

Morals and maturity.

In *Manhattan*, Allen sees his characters faced with responsibilities to their friends, spouses, and lovers that call for concern, generosity and loyalty. He also sees them faced with determining the meaning of their own lives. For Allen, they can do so through love and through art, or they can try to avoid the subject entirely.

Manhattan is about how people are, in Isaac's words, "constantly creating neurotic problems for themselves because it keeps them from dealing with the more unsolvable, terrifying problems of the universe." But through the character of Tracy, it also hints at an alternative.

Both Mary and Yale are first-class neurotic avoiders. Instead of following through on his marriage and finishing his book, Yale chases after Mary and buys an expensive sports car. Instead of writing serious fiction and loving a man who will also love her, Mary does novelizations of movies and falls for a married man.

Isaac's affair with Tracy is initially a form of neurotic avoidance. It is his "Last Tango in Manhattan," his means of denying his mid-life anxieties by seeing himself through the admiring eyes of a young girl. But there is an-

other dimension to Isaac's neurosis: bounced between shame and desire, he fails to see that Tracy is more than a projection of his illicit needs.

Allen creates in Tracy a symbol of purity amidst the convoluted sexual politics of Manhattan's Upper East Side. She is direct and generous about her love where Mary is unsure and self-preoccupied and Yale is purely hedonistic and escapist. "We have laughs together. I care about you. Your concerns are my concerns. We have great sex," Tracy tells an Isaac skeptical of her love.

Isaac finally realizes that she is more than just a kid, but his motives remain ambiguous, just as their future prospects are left in doubt.

Isaac's affair with Tracy and its ambiguous conclusion give *Manhattan* a special poignancy. It gives the story an edge of hope and an unexpected glimpse of genuine romance without providing an illusion of easy solutions. It doesn't lessen Allen's critique of the world of *Manhattan*. It gives it depth and sadness.

Provincialism.

But *Manhattan* does not escape the provincialism of Allen's earlier films, a provincialism that is intrinsic to his moral philosophy. Allen's characters in *Manhattan* live within a self-enclosed universe in which their choices are solely determined by their psychic complexion and moral character. If they fail to find fulfillment, it is because of neuroses and moral weakness, not because of their situations.

Manhattan works because Allen has chosen to portray a social milieu that fits his own view of humanity, one in which its members can choose between the "rat race" and writing serious fiction and between one kind of lover and another. It is a world of considerable affluence, much talent and hardly any children.

By choosing a milieu that confirms his philosophical presuppositions, Allen limits his scope as a filmmaker. He makes most of American life out-of-bounds, with the result that far less "serious" movies like *Saturday Night Fever* and *Carwash* portray the choices most Americans face more accurately than *Manhattan* does.

CULTURE SHOCK

'THANK GOD FOR SPECIALISTS

In New York, a language specialist has opened a "clinic for homogenized speech"—where people can be retrained to speak non-sexist language.

THE TRUTH WAS STRANGER

Two independent American movie producers have offered Richard Nixon a role in a political suspense film about two chiefs of state kidnapped and replaced by genetically-engineered doubles. Nixon has not replied yet.

UPHOLDING DECENCY

The Argentine military government has banned *Coming Home*, because it shows a military officer's wife committing adultery with an anti-war vet.

ONLY A MOVIE?

In a poll recently taken by West German TV and the Federal Office for Political Education, fully 30 percent of those polled believed, after watching *Holocaust* that "Nazism was a basically good idea that was only carried out badly."



ONCE YOU GET A TASTE FOR IT...

The Shah of Iran recently had flown into his Bahamian home-in-exile the vampire film *Love at First Bite*.

MUSIC DISTRIBUTION

Women's music seeks "natural market"

By Myrna S. Greenfield

In 1973, Olivia Records, the first national women's recording company, released a 45 of Meg Christian's "Ode to a Gay Teacher." Since then, over 50 lps and singles of women's music have been released on at least 30 different labels, turning over more than 500,000 units. The current vitality and diversity of women's music has increased its commercial viability. But so far that viability has been unrealized outside of the music's lesbian/feminist following.

Women's music is dedicated to affecting the lives of its listeners more than to making hit records. At the same time, most of the women involved in the industry would like to expand the audience for women's music. In order to reach a mass audience, women's music will have to step outside of the women's culture. However, the lesbian and political content, the limited financial resources, and the unique nature of the women's distribution network all pose particular difficulties for marketing women's music.

Although not all women's music is lesbian, women's music is widely thought of as "lesbian music." The current popularity of a gay parody group like the Village People, or the occasional surfacing of a hit song like Lou Reed's "Walk on the Wild Side," might appear to indicate growing acceptance of homosexuality on the airwaves. But it's a far cry from the Village People's satirical view of the gay scene to a lesbian love song.

The all-woman focus and production of women's music threatens many men. One sympathetic male lawyer in the music industry, for example, assessing Holly Near's chances for mainstream success, told her that her records wouldn't sell because she "didn't have any submission in her voice."

Terri Hemmert, a disc jockey at WXRT-FM—a Chicago progressive rock station that has played cuts from albums by Margie Adam, Chris Williamson and Meg Christian, among others—told *ITT* she feels that acceptance of women's music will depend on "sociological factors." WXRT selects music for airplay on the basis of its overall musical merits and general appeal for a progressive rock music audience. "Lesbian content is not an issue at WXRT," Hemmert says. She adds that other stations tend to be more conservative and refuse to play the music of controversial acts even if their lyrics are acceptable.

The market potential for women's music varies from album to album, of course. Jazz composer Mary Watkins' somewhat vague references to "freedom to love who I please" are less likely to be objectionable to homophobic listeners than the music of Teresa Trull or Meg Christian, two of the most upfront lesbian performers.

The greatest difficulty in promoting women's music is not the music itself, but the simple lack of finances. Record companies are forced to choose between investing limited resources into pressing as many albums as possible or promoting an inadequate supply. In the case of Holly Near's new album, *Redwood Red*,

ords drastically underestimated the demand for the lp and sold out of the initial 10,000 disc pressing almost immediately.

High cost of touring makes it impossible for many women's bands to tour at all. Baba Yaga, one of the finest bands in women's music, recorded one album and split up largely because they could not afford to continue. Olivia Records' "Varied Voices of Black Women" promotional tour attracted respectable crowds, but was unable to break even due to the financial costs of putting 14 people on the road.

Another difficulty in marketing women's music has been the unique nature of the women's informal independent distribution network, which has suffered from members' inexperience, isolation, and, of course, limited finances.

The biggest problem is money, not lesbian lyrics.



Left: Thelma Norris, Chicago distributor of women's music. Above: Teresa Trull (left) and Meg Christian, two performers.

malization of the women's independent distribution network into a cooperative association, complete with group health insurance, marks "a real turning point in distribution" and indicates their "faith in the future of women's music."

Ginny Berson, a spokeswoman for Olivia Records, which did most of the legwork to form the original distribution network, states that the formation of WILD is "one of the best things that could ever have happened" to women's music.

The consensus reached at the conference was that each album ought to be marketed on the basis of its own special appeal. Marketing suggestions from WILD are just that, and not binding on the distributors or the record companies. Distributors will aim promotion towards the "natural market" for each record. Mary Watkins' album, for example, appeals to jazz listeners and the black community as well as for some of the regular lesbian/feminist followers of women's music. It has already achieved some airplay on jazz-oriented programs and on some community stations.

The mass market is not the "natural market" for all women's music. Distributors no longer view airplay as the only or even the most effective means of broadening the audience for women's music. WILD may be able to help distributors find that natural market for each album.

This is the third and last article in a series on women's music.

Women's music distributors are not only responsible for contracting to sell women's music to record outlets, but for local promotion as well. Thus, distributors play a key role in marketing the music. Unlike mainstream record companies, which take responsibility for promotion, women's labels share the task of promotion with their distributors. Almost all of the sales, airplay, and publicity that a new release receives in any given area can be credited to the work of the local distributor/promoter.

The distribution network has only been in existence since 1973, and few women have experience. In addition, the isolation of the individual distributors has made it difficult for them to work with other women in developing an effective marketing strategy.

Lack of finances prohibit the use of standard promotional techniques; "You don't have enough cocaine to market this album in Chicago," a mainstream record distributor told Thelma Norris, a women's music distributor there. Furthermore, the women's record companies are seldom able to provide the distributors with an adequate supply of promotional copies, press packets, and gadget gimmickry.

The recent formation of Women in Label Distribution (WILD), a professional association for women's music distributors with more than 50 members, may eliminate some of these difficulties. Norris, who attended WILD's first annual conference in March in Kansas City, feels that the for-



Judy Dlugacz

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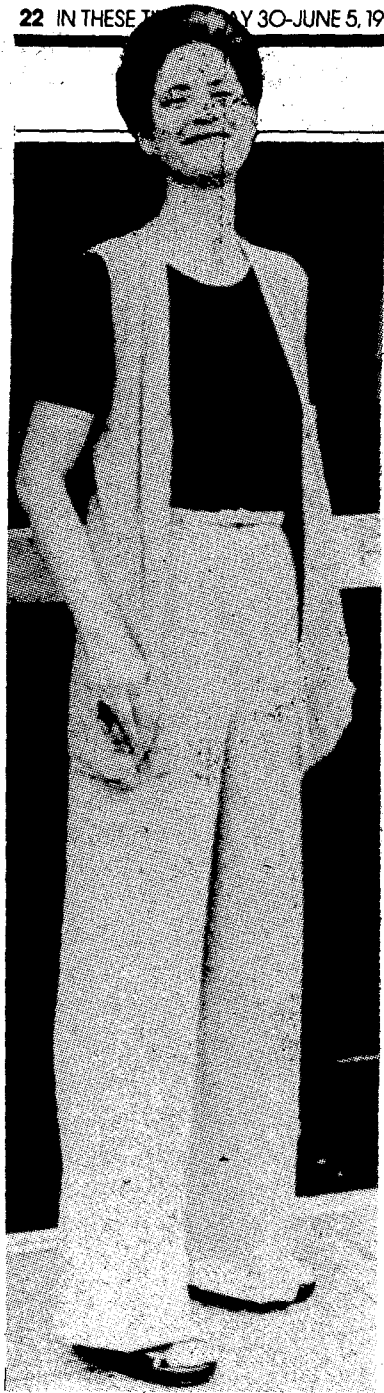
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ST 92

BOOKS AND FILM



Clerical worker Lynda Calhoun.

Real life in the dream factory

**CREATIVE DIFFERENCES:
PROFILES OF HOLLYWOOD DISSIDENTS**

By David Talbot and Barbara Zheutlin
South End Press, \$5.40
Box 68, Astor Sta., Boston, MA 02123

By Ken Margolis

Hollywood has long had a special place in this country's imagination: Babylon, dream factory, home of the stars. As this interesting book points out in a series of profiles of 16 Hollywood "dissidents," filmmaking is also an industry.

Creative Differences is an uneven book, not always successful in combining political history and comment with individual biography. The authors have a clear, strong point of view, and a gift for painting a broad-brush picture of historical circumstances and events, but their writing lacks the bite of original thought, and their interview technique appears to be indifferent at best.

The first essay-interview focuses on blacklisted screenwriter Al-

bert Maltz. It is the longest piece in the book, and perhaps the most successful—because Maltz lived a rich political life in the '40s and during the blacklist.

One of the more successful Hollywood screenwriters, Maltz joined the Communist Party in the mid-'30s, and spent much of his time organizing, speaking and writing for progressive causes. In 1946 he committed the almost unheard of act of opening public debate within the Party by affirming that there was more to a piece of art than the political line it took. The following year Maltz refused to name names before HUAC and served time in prison with the other members of the Hollywood Ten.

The authors distinguish between the pre-blacklist period and the present; and between those with power in the industry (Jane Fonda, Haskell Wexler and Thom Mount) and relatively powerless crafts workers and clerical workers. They also focus on people who were active in the great political surge of the late '60s and who went on to Hollywood.

Each essay is laced with quotes from the subject. The authors are



Filmmaker Michael Gray.

obviously hard-working, but they are not very good interviewers. Several interviewees appear to be on the defensive, and the profile of Jane Fonda, which might be expected to have had some depth, contains nothing we haven't read in the local press a hundred times.

It is, however, a pleasure to come across a person like spirited, witty Lynda Calhoun. Stuck in a dead-end clerical position in one of the studios, she put her energy into organizing, and for some time single-handedly put out the peppery newsletter, *Ms. On Scene*. Or Haskell Wexler, a respected Hollywood cinematographer who spends much of his time making political documentaries.

Perhaps the most delightful essay is the final one, on Lynn Phillips, a television writer who worked for a year on the writing

staff of *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*. Phillips, who spent some time working with the News-reel collective, combines a gift for social analysis with a wry sense of humor about her position as a socially progressive person in the television industry. Speaking of television's "mass approach," she says, "...We're socially individualistic—that is, it's every small fish for himself or herself—but culturally we're like a military parade in Moscow. It's the worst of both worlds."

Creative Differences conveys a sense of Hollywood as an intensely competitive labor market in which creative individuals can maintain shreds of integrity with pluck and perseverance, but in which no basic change will occur without organization of and between the many levels of workers.

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ORIENTALISM
By Edward W. Said
Pantheon Books, \$15

BOOKS

By David Lelyveld

While in the Orient, you may recall, Lamont Cranston learned how to cloud men's minds so that they could not see him. Where was that? The Orient—you know, east of Suez...and west of it...and China...and India.... And what was he doing there? I told you, he was learning things—like how to cloud people's minds.

"Orientalism," as Edward Said explains it, is a large, gray, floating cloud, obscuring everything it passes over, drawing into itself a huge diversity of human experience. But it is not the Orientalist who is rendered invisible. On the contrary, Orientalism is a strategy of self-definition, contrasting the "us" of the "Occident" with "them," those exotic others who require special study because they belong to a different residual category of humanity. As with Hamlet's father, the way to control this fearsome specter of "the East" is to subdue it with knowledge.

This special knowledge, particularly scholarly knowledge, stands forth in Said's analysis as "an internally structured archive." The book intends to reveal the development of this cultural artifact of European and North American history; its institutionalization; and its relevance to the establishment of political dominance. Reaching beyond the particular content of Orientalism, Said furthermore offers a radical critique of all attempts to render human experience into "representations."

Part of the drama in reading this book, and the book's major disappointment, is to see how Said deals with the challenge of his own method—how he proposes to break out of academic discourse into a larger vision.

Intellectual aggression.

The vague concept of "the Orient" sets off "Europe" on one side and all "Asia" plus a good deal of Africa on the other as two categories existing at the same level of generalization. Said intends to show how this intellectual aggression, the categories and methods applied to non-European societies, is linked to political and economic aggression. For him, the realm of Orientalism *par excellence* is the history and literature associated with the Arabic language and the religion of Islam. He concentrates on the relevant scholarly and literary figures in Britain, France and the U.S. rather than those writers, notably

The Orient Expressed

The concept of "the Orient" defines, for Westerners, an exotic "them," to be feared, studied, dominated and exploited, says this Arab Palestinian author.

German, whose work was not accompanied by the successful establishment of colonies.

Yet the specific "archive" of Orientalism, as Said notes, is also founded on a deep traditional opposition between Europe and Asia that goes back to the ancient Greek-Persian wars and persisted despite the fact that Christianity arose across that invisible border.

Said chooses to concentrate on Arabic and Islam (the two are, of course, by no means congruent), for reasons both personal and political. Personal because Said is, as he carefully phrases it, "an Arab Palestinian" (the term concedes that there are Palestinians who are not Arabs). Said is engaged in an urgent, life-affirming battle against those who would reduce him and the people among whom he grew up into manifestations of a few ready-made, static generalizations.

At another level, the political import of "Arab" and "Islamic" stereotypes is constantly before us, especially since some of the people falling under those categories have the bad taste to own oil resources and most of them have been deadily opposed to the existence of the Jewish state in their midst. The fear of a rising Islam, fanatical, violent, sexually crazed, seeps into newspaper reports, cartoons, television coverage and films. Muslims are to be kept at a distance, not to be trusted, and the only thing they understand is force. Said documents the deep medieval roots of such ideas and their continual, often tautological repetition by Orientalist scholars.

Text and reality.

Whether or not in irony, Said employs textual criticism to undermine what he calls "the textual attitude"—the idea that human experience is to be understood through documents. Even in the 18th century, with its faith

in the universality of human values, the new Orientalist scholarship committed the reductionist aggression of trying "to transmute living reality into the stuff of texts." Orientalist texts—edited poetry anthologies, museum exhibits—provided data for historical linguistics and the discovery of language "families," notably Aryan and Semitic. Out of this, 19th century scholars like Ernest Renan got the idea that some languages inherently crippled the ability of their speakers to perceive and to generalize. Orientalism produced a "scientific" basis for European domination over the world's majority.

What then of a "living reality" beyond the text? This is a barrier Said himself cannot break, though he implies that such a realm does exist, in face-to-face interaction, if such can survive the poisons of "expert" knowledge.

But even imaginative writers like Chateaubriand, Lamartine and Nerval, who broke out of the library and went to the Middle East in search of direct encounter, were so weighted down with Orientalist preconceptions that they could not see what was in front of their faces. The spiritual quest of the journey to the East usually ended in disillusionment and debunking. Analysis took the place of what Said calls "the ordinary narrative course of human life." This seems to be Said's concept of "reality." By this criterion, the writer who comes out best is Flaubert, whose writings about Egypt, however outrageous, breathed the living air of real people. And among scholars, Louis Massignon's personal quest as a Christian for the insights of Islamic mysticism stands forth as most admirable.

Impersonal.

But if Said's "reality" is personal and narrative, he has not written a personal or narrative book. Al-

though he devotes a few good pages in the introduction to autobiographical background, the rhetorical mode of the book is unrelievedly academic whenever it is not openly polemical. Said makes some show of debunking the academic establishment—the mindless "file clerks" collecting boring information, the professional pooh bahs with their endowed chairs at the Sorbonne, Oxford, Harvard and Princeton, all those (of "us," I should say) who have been turned out by universities, received travel grants and been published "in accredited form." This coming from the Parr Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, sometime fellow of the Institute of Advanced Studies, Princeton, and the Center for Studies in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, might be construed as bad grace.

Said would rather be thought of as a voice rising up out of the unheard and the oppressed. But throughout the book one is constantly assaulted by his own similarity to the writers that he takes to task. He is quick to seal all non-Arab, non-Muslim scholars into the same Orientalist strait-jacket, avoiding those who do not fit his general arguments, such as W.S. Blunt, the arch anti-imperialist of Victorian Orientalism. Said tends to rely on general statements, prefaces and perorations, and only occasionally takes the trouble to read the texture of actual scholarship.

Also notably absent from the book, except very briefly at the end, are Muslims and non-Muslim Arabs. Only at the end does Said refer briefly to contemporary Arab writing (in English and French), mostly embarrassing third-hand parrotting of foreign misconceptions. He must be aware of the intellectual history of 19th and 20th century Muslims and Arabs and its frequent-

ly lively interaction with European scholarship, but he has excluded this from his "archive" of Orientalism because it does not show that Orientalists selected only such sources as served their purposes.

Impractical.

Whatever Said may believe about a level of "reality" beyond representation, his enterprise is based on a realization that perception and the recounting of it are founded on previously formulated theory. Some would call that "culture," and much as Said may wish to get up from under it he knows very well that generalized constructs of what we believe we can know are unavoidable.

Said is frank enough in announcing his political sympathies, but he is by no means clear in putting forth a practical theory of how to generalize about anything. He asks at the end, "Do cultural, religious, and racial differences matter more than socio-economic categories, or politicohistorical ones?" In this way, Said glides over the central question of his book: what to make of the social formulation of ideology, the symbolic constructions through which people order the world?

If all writing is unavoidably political, as Said argues, the question then is: which side are you on? Here the issue of Jews and Zionism comes up, but Said deals with it in the same heavy-handed polemical style that arch-imperialists like Cromer and Balfour devoted to the "Orientals." The human complexity of Jewish society in Israel is never recognized. An early, promising theme of Orientalism as "the secret sharer" of European anti-Semitism is never developed, except to show how some prominent Zionists have taken the coinage of anti-Jewish bigotry and transferred it to their Arab antagonists. This is a point worth pursuing, but instead, Said's references to Israel are the kind of "essentialist" characterizations his whole book condemns. Zionism is a "religious" not a social or national movement; its aim is to establish "hegemony over the Near East," pure and simple.

"Only an exaggerated sense of duty," Said says toward the end of his book, "drives a scholar to study what he does not think well of." It is obvious that Said wrote this book out of such a sense of duty, and that somewhere along the way he wearied of the task and contented himself with skimming and scoring only the easy points.

David Lelyveld is a professor of history presently researching in Hyderabad, India.

It's not enough to offer women
sado-masochism in the new fashions.
The clothes also have to be called "liberating."

By Laurie Stone

RETROGRESS WITH GIVEN-
chy!" says an ad that's
making the rounds in fash-
ion magazines this spring.
Three women, cropped
above the waist, wear spike-heeled sand-
als and patterned pantyhose with the
manufacturer's signature scrawled from
the buttock to hip. Imagine the spin-offs:
ads for diamond-studded handcuffs cap-
tioned, "Discipline with Cartier!" and
for red and green thongs exhorting, "Be
restrained with Gucci!"

Retrogress is not one of those equiv-
ocal fashion words like "nostalgic" or
"romantic," which have as many appeal-
ing as repellent associations. To retro-
gress means to go backward to a worse,
more primitive state. Of the two genders,
one of them stands to lose a great deal
and gain absolutely nothing by retreat-
ing to the past. Guess which one.

Signs of retro-dressing began appear-
ing about two years ago. In the 1976-77
season, approximately 75 percent of the
shoes manufactured for women had heels
under three inches. The following year,
heels on 75 percent of women's shoes
were over three inches. Next came lay-
outs and features in *Vogue*, *Harper's Baz-
aar*, and *Viva* on "the new femininity"
and "the new vulnerability"—on lacy cor-
setlike lingerie, garter belts, dark red lip-
sticks and nail polishes.

Picking up the trend, Bloomingdale's
lined its basement with Helmut Newton-
style blowups of women slumped over
furniture, "hurt me," "fuck me" ex-
pressions on their faces. The other side
of Retro—punk women with "fuck you"
looks, who have been littering the pages
of the *Soho Weekly News*—arrived up-
town last fall when Bergdorf Goodman
displayed punk rock fashions in its 57th
Street windows. And in March, the *Times*
gave establishment imprimatur by devot-
ing its entire 144-page section on women's
spring clothes to "the look."

Retro is largely an amalgam of '40s and
'50s styles: padded shoulders and tiny
waists cinched with wide belts, tight, side-
slit sheath dresses and skirts, flimsy shoes
and black net stockings, hair so elabor-
ate that only a pro can chart its winds and
weaves, makeup that shows.

Its promoters say that Retro is all about
masks and costumes, whimsical, harm-
less, apolitical escape; but nearly every-
thing written on the trend poses a direct
or indirect challenge to feminism. At-
tempting to define Retro's ethos, Carrie
Donovan wrote in the *Times*, "The wom-
en's movement has won major battles
and women are moving on to being *them-
selves* not only in their head [sic] but in



the way they dress. Most women no longer
feel it necessary to hide under layers of
cloth or to wear 'man' tailored suits or
some kind of aggressive, no-nonsense at-
tire. Nor is it 'selling out' or letting down
the women's side to dress in a frankly
feminine manner that previously might
have been scoffed at as looking like a
man's sex object."

Merchandising Retro in 1979 means
having to convince women that feminist-
inspired clothes are no-longer-necessary
"wartime" uniforms, that the images
women have come to regard as sexist are
now "liberated" from these associations,
and that the feminist "struggle" has been
won—women can, and *should*, dress to
tantalize because sexism is no longer a
threat.

Phrases identified with the women's
movement are applied, like visible dabs
of make-up, to articles promoting Retro,
as if a clothing style that makes it diffi-
cult for women to move—or even breathe
—were somehow a consequence of femi-
nism, an extension of it. We hear that
truly "liberated" women are relaxed, se-
cure and comfortable enough to look
feminine and sex-object sexy. Transla-
tion: women are secure enough to be vul-
nerable again and comfortable enough
to surrender their comfort. Fitness—i.e.,
coordination, strength—is paid lip ser-
vice, but the models' thin, untuned bod-
ies and their languid, awkward poses look
anything but athletic. Translating again
from fashionspeak, "fitness" turns out
to be code for "showing skin."

We're told that spike-heeled boots,
black leather, studs and other sado-mas-

ochistic paraphernalia are "fun," as if
they had no connection with the pain and
humiliation they symbolize. We're told
that dressing like a sex object doesn't
mean a woman is a sex object; but also
that Retro clothes are sexy precisely be-
cause they emphasize and exaggerate the
differences between male and female
bodies, between male (aggressive) and
female (passive) sex roles.

Retro is characterized as the style of
the woman "independent" and "self-as-
sertive" enough to defy the hegemony of
the dull, unsexy clothes feminists wear;
but as soon as this connection is made,
Retro is inadvertently politicized. It be-
comes uniform, not costume—the uni-
form of anti-feminist backlash.

Whether Retro is really backlash uni-
form is moot. It is, however, undeniably
a feature of backlash times. Designers
and manufacturers don't set social policy;
they try to divine what will sell.

The mood of backlash encourages peo-
ple to "loosen up, lighten up," to be com-
placent about oppression and inequality,
and to associate an apolitical stance with a
kind of suprapolitical sophistication. It's
okay to say "nigger" and "cunt," the
logic runs, if you're not *really* a racist or
sexist.

Despite their protests to the contrary,
the promoters of Retro are advancing sex-
ism by denying the persistence of sexism,
by encouraging women to enfeeble and
thus endanger themselves, by confusing
an emphasis on the physical differences
between the sexes with being pro-sex, and
by linking Retro with sexuality and
feminism with anti-sexuality.

It's impossible to generalize about the
clothes feminists wear, because there
really is no "feminist look." Some clothes,
however, create images of women com-
fortable with their bodies, adult, active,
and sexual. This sexuality is inseparable
from an image of self-possession that
has nothing to do with submissiveness,
coyness, fragility or aggressiveness.

Dressing in feminist-inspired clothes
doesn't make a woman a feminist, any
more than donning Retro clothes nullifies
a feminist's convictions about the status
of women in society. Yet, though appear-
ances may deceive, they always tell some
true story about the wearer. All clothing
functions as uniform, signifying gender,
sexuality, social role, economic status,
class and group identification. Surfaces
tyrannize. This, needless to say, pleases
the sellers of clothes. It disturbs feminists.

Most of us are far from resolving our
ambivalence about clothes and appear-
ance. They have meant too much to wom-
en for too long. Although we rebel against
the pressure to be beautiful, most of us are
attracted to beauty and value it. There are
exceptions, of course. Some women have
established a "negative vanity," a pride in
appearance that signals protest against
fashion, protest against the privilege and
power of beauty. To others, androgyny
seems a visual correlative—and perhaps
prerequisite—for genuine equality be-
tween the sexes.

Most of us are prepared to go much
further in reshaping our ideas of what
men and women should be than of what
men and women should look like. We
cling more tenaciously to our beliefs about
sexual attraction and sex than we do to
anything else we're willing to examine.
For many women, Retro clothes plug di-
rectly into an active sexual circuit. Sado-
masochistic iconography is ubiquitous in
our inner and outer sexual landscapes,
and Retro unabashedly displays the con-
nection between sex, power, barter and
coercion.

To some, Retro may look like a bit of
harmless outrageousness. A sweet rebel-
lion against uniforms, a novelty. But re-
gardless of what is going on in the wear-
er's mind, Retro clothes signal a willing-
ness to be, or at least to play at being,
the victim, the slave, the whore, the pseu-
do-tough bitch. Designers and manufac-
turers of Retro are well aware that there
are reasons why women cleave to maso-
chism. They also know that in 1979 it's
not enough just to offer women sado-
masochism, they have to insist that it's
liberating.

A different version of this article original-
ly appeared in the *Village Voice*.